The Communist

20c OCTOBER 1942

TO THE OFFENSIVE!
AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

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THE ECONOMICS OF ALL-OUT WAR
EARL BROWDER

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THE STALIN-CHURCHILL MEETING AND AFTER

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LESSONS OF THE PRIMARY ELECTIONS
RALPH V. BARNES

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CADRES OF WIN-THE-WAR LEADERS
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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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Announcement

Earl Browder's new book, VICTORY—AND AFTER, is about to go to press; it will be issued in October. Written in a simple, popular style, the book represents the first rounded-out and complete statement of the Communist position on the most vital questions of the war. VICTORY—AND AFTER is addressed to the entire nation, not primarily to confirmed Communists. It will be recognized immediately as an exceptionally important contribution to the political thought of our nation at the very time when clarity on policy is so vital for the outcome of the war.

Because close to four million Americans—and scores of outstanding working-class leaders of Europe, Asia and Latin America —petitioned for the author's freedom; because he is the leader of a Party which is playing an increasingly decisive role for national unity and victory, this booklet by the foremost spokesman of the Communist Party will receive public attention far beyond the circles of the Communist Party, and will be read by most open-minded thinkers of all shades of political opinion in the United States.

VICTORY—AND AFTER is a basic Marxist work, applying in a living manner the Leninist theory and method to the solution of the most pressing problems arising from the war, and in its analysis of the conditions required for victory and what to do with victory when we have won it. The nature and character of the war; the strategy required for victory; problems of national unity and the attitude to the war effort of the Communist, Socialist, Republican and Democratic parties; the problem of the colonial and smaller countries such as China, India, Africa, Latin America; industrial production and the role of labor in a war economy; the question of relations between the capitalist countries and the socialist Soviet Union for the war effort and for post-war reconstruction, all these are dealt with authoritatively in this new work.

In addition to the regular edition of VICTORY—AND AFTER, priced $1.50, there will be made available a popular mass edition, in an initial printing of 100,000, at 50 cents per copy. Let this book be used as a powerful weapon for mobilizing and unifying the people for victory over the Hitlerite Axis!

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TO THE OFFENSIVE!

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

I

WORLD WAR II has entered its fourth year. It is almost nine months since the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. The Red Army, battling alone the bulk of the fascist hordes of Hitler and his European satellites for nearly fifteen months, is now engaged in the most titanic and bloodiest struggle in history at the gates of Stalingrad and in the Caucasus. And Hitler is still able to concentrate all his forces on the Eastern Front. *There is still no Second Front in Europe.* This is today the most important, the most significant and the most dangerous aspect of the war of liberation of the United Nations against the Axis.

Spokesmen for our Government have been telling us lately that we are not only in danger of losing the war, but that we *are* losing it so far. They emphasize the danger as a means of overcoming what they believe to be complacency on the part of the masses, an insufficient willingness to make the necessary sacrifices, and for the purpose of increasing production of war material. They are without doubt correct in calling attention to the danger. But they are not correct in their proposed remedy. They are not correct if they believe that the masses are complacent. To be sure, there remain to be solved numerous problems in the field of production and in other phases of the war effort on the home front. But above all, the way to stop "losing the war" and begin winning it is to start fighting it in earnest. The danger of losing the war arises from one, and only one, possibility. The possibility that Hitler will be allowed to defeat or so weaken the Red Army that the United States and Great Britain will be compelled to face the bulk of the Nazi hordes alone in a one-front war, just as the Soviet Union is now compelled to face alone fully 90 per cent of the armies of Hitler and his satellites. And, therefore, only by *opening the Second Front now* can victory over the Axis be assured.

What is holding up the opening of the Second Front? Is it the complacency of the masses? Is it the failure of the workers to produce the necessary implements of war? Is it the unreadiness of the masses or of our armed forces to make any and all necessary sacrifices? Certainly not. The one thing above all that is delaying the opening of the Second Front is the conscious and

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unconscious influences of appeasement, defeatism, hope for a "negotiated peace," procrastination and overcautiousness, which affect and hold back even some of those forces in our country and in Great Britain who are irrevocably committed to a finish fight against the Axis.

Ever since the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R., the two-front war against Nazi Germany, which is the nightmare of Hitler, became possible. After December, 1941, when the Red Army administered heavy blows against Hitler's armies, and with the recapture of Rostov went over to the offensive, while at the same time the United States entered the war against the Axis, the Second Front in Europe was rendered much easier in its realization and a basis was created for the most speedy defeat of Hitler with the least possible cost to the United Nations.

Nevertheless, advantage was not taken of the great opportunities that this period offered. In the summer and fall of 1941 there still prevailed in leading circles of Britain and the U. S. A. the influence of those who believed that the Lindbergh lies about the alleged weakness of the Red Army and the Soviet Union were "gospel truth." They spoke of the U. S. S. R. collapsing in a matter of weeks or at best months. The appeasers and defeatists even argued against giving material aid to the U. S. S. R. on the ground that, as in the defeat of France, it would fall into the hands of Hitler. In reality these appeasers and defeatists desired that the U. S. S. R. fight alone, become weakened so that they could come forward with their proposals for a negotiated Vichy peace.

After December, 1941, when the Soviet armies not only held the Hitler hordes, but even went over to the offensive, the appeasers and defeatists were able to block the preparations for the opening of the Second Front among other things on the pretext that we had to concentrate first on the defeat of Japan. The official policy of the United States and Britain was still one of preparing to take the offensive against Hitler in Europe sometime in 1944 or, at best, in 1943. Instead of preparing for the opening of a Second Front in the spring simultaneously with an offensive of the U.S.S.R. on the Eastern Front, there was idle speculation on *what* Hitler would do and *where* he would strike in the Spring. As events showed, and as should have been known, Hitler continued to concentrate all his active forces against the Soviet Union and even then could open up an offensive only for limited objectives, and then only in the Summer and not the Spring of 1942. So was the great opportunity to crush Hitler and assure the defeat of the Axis in 1942 weakened and postponed.

But the masses, and especially the working people in both Britain and the United States, far from being complacent, demanded ever more loudly the opening of the Second Front. The big trade unions passed resolutions. Huge demonstrations took place. The workers

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vied with one another in every factory for the rapid fulfillment of the production schedules.

The enslaved peoples in the Nazi-occupied countries increased their resistance against the occupationists, and a number of the "Governments-in-exile" joined in the demand for the opening of the Second Front.

Toward the end of May and in the first days of June, Foreign Commissar Molotov visited London and Washington, and as a result of the negotiations carried on between himself, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt, important decisions were made toward strengthening the alliance of the United States, Britain and the U. S. S. R., and for the further conduct of the war, as well as for "safeguarding peace and security to the freedom-loving peoples after the war." Most important, of course, was the "full understanding * * * with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

These decisions were greeted by the peoples of the United States, Great Britain and in all of the United Nations with great joy. The masses understood these decisions to be the answer to their demand for the immediate opening of the Second Front. Resolutions of approval were passed by the trade unions. Huge meetings of workers endorsed these decisions. The great mass of the American people were overwhelming in their enthusiastic support of the strengthening of the alliance with the U.S.S.R. and for the Second Front.

But as the Nazi hordes resumed their attack against the U. S. S. R. and weeks went by without the Second Front being opened, the masses again, now in even larger numbers, and with greater determination, began to press for the opening of the Second Front. As against the appeasers and defeatists who tried to nullify the Roosevelt-Molotov-Churchill agreement, the masses, more aroused than ever before, demanded the realization of this agreement. In answer to this demand of the masses came the Roosevelt-Churchill statement on the occasion of the Churchill visit to the United States that steps were being taken to assure the Red Army relief from Nazi military pressure. Then followed the Churchill visit to Moscow and the negotiations between Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, in which Mr. Harriman, President Roosevelt's representative, participated. Again hope ran high among the masses. And when this was followed by the Dieppe "rehearsal," optimism toward the opening of the Second Front increased.

Today the fate of Stalingrad and of the Caucasus hangs in the balance. The masses of our country and in Britain are watching the great battles of the Red Army, the heroism and sacrifice of the Soviet people, not only with the greatest admiration, but with growing anxiety, apprehension, and a feeling of shame. There is no doubt as to where the people stand. They have demonstrated their desire for the Second Front again and again. There is no doubt where the men in the armed forces stand. Articles and

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editorials in *Yank* (official army organ) make this crystal clear. But as yet there is no *Second Front.*

The appeasers and defeatists, the Hooverites and America Firsters are redoubling their efforts against the Second Front. They are trying to create division among the United Nations and confusion and disunity at home. They are taking advantage of the difficulties and setbacks of the heroic Red Army fighting alone, for the purpose of advancing their attacks against the President's war policies, the strategy of the war, and the home front. They are becoming more bold and outspoken in their attempts to reverse the foreign policy of the Government and to undermine the leadership of the President at home.

The Hooverite George Sokolsky, notorious hireling of the most reactionary forces in this country, and arch-enemy of the Soviet Union and the United Nations policy, in an article in the September 5 issue of the *N. Y. Sun,* with ill-concealed glee, already sees the U. S. S. R. "reduced to a second-rate power" and unable to fight. His whole perspective, as he outlines it, is that in 1943 the United States will have to fight alone just as the U. S. S. R. fought alone until now. Not only the U. S. S. R., but even Britain and China, are absent from his calculations as participants in the future struggles against Hitler. It takes little imagination to see that this only prepares the ground for the next phase of his attack. The logical outgrowth of this attitude will be an open call for a negotiated peace à la Pétain, on the ground that it is impossible to defeat Hitler.

The appeaser and defeatist press has also tried to utilize the Dieppe raid for its purposes. Dieppe, they contend, proves the impossibility of opening a Second Front. Instead, they maintain it proves that only through air raids à la de Seversky can Germany be defeated, and this, of course, not now, but much later when we shall be "more fully" prepared. In the August 23 issue of the *World-Telegram* we are told in a leading editorial that:

"Savage as the Canadian and other losses at Dieppe were, they may in the long run be more than justified as a demonstration of the difficulties inherent in any attempt to open a land front in western Europe.

"By contrast Allied superiority in the air speaks well for the alternative method of attacking Germany—with air power."

The *World-Telegram* editorial reminds us that there is more than one way to lose the war. The de Seversky "plan" endorsed by the *World-Telegram* is one way. The Sokolsky "plan" is still another. There are many more. And all of them are advanced by the appeasers in their feverish division of labor to achieve the same goal. But there is only one way to win the war. And that is through the immediate opening of the Second Front.

Samuel Grafton in the September 5 issue of the *N. Y. Post* paints a vivid and horrible picture of what would happen in our country if we lose the war. In this column he puts his finger on one of the most im-

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portant causes that is holding up the opening of the Second Front.

"So to those who are afraid of a second front because it might commit us to the war, *in unlimited, irreversible fashion,* it ought to be made clear that we are already committed in unlimited, irreversible fashion; that the whole country is in it, even if most of our army is still out of it; that the second front, far from committing us to the dangerous future, now stands as the only way out of it." (Emphasis ours.)

It is indeed interesting to note that those who admonish the labor movement against pressing for the Second Front do not object to the campaign of the defeatists engaged in telling the military why they should *not* open a Second Front. Only those who fight for the Second Front and who will fight *on* the Second Front are told to leave it to the military.

Yes, our people, and above all the working class and the trade union movement, understand or at least sense the dangerous future, the future of slavery that is in store for us if we lose the war, and that lose it we shall—unless the Second Front is opened in time—*now*—while we still have the guarantee that Hitler must fight a two-front war. That is why the people cannot and do not accept the proposition that they shall leave the question of the second front for the military to decide. The question of the Second Front is the most vital question for the masses. On it depends the very existence of our country. On it depends the kind of world we and our children will live in. It is the people who will work, sacrifice, fight and die to secure our independence and freedom. And they cannot stand aside, indifferent as to how this war is being fought, whether it is to be won or lost. It is in the tradition of our country and our people that in every critical stage they took their stand and snatched victory over the forces of reaction and slavery against the greatest odds. They will do it again.

The labor movement, the workers in the mines, mills and factories, the people through their organizations, in neighborhood, farm and market place must arouse themselves as never before and, louder than ever —now, before it is too late—demand the immediate opening of the Second Front. Let us reassure our Government that we are not complacent; that we know the sacrifices involved in the Second Front and are ready to make them because we know it is the only way to stop losing the war and the only guarantee of the destruction of Hitler and the entire Axis.

In this situation the Communists and the Left Wing of the labor movement have the tremendous responsibility of developing the independent political activity of labor.

II

In New York State, in this great state of progressive tradition, with an organized labor movement of more than two million strong, the voters will be given the choice in this year's Gubernatorial race (as far as the major parties are concerned) between a Hoover Republi-

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can and a Farley Democrat. Both parties defied their *Win-the-War* leadership. The Democrats nominated the pro-Franco man Bennett in defiance of the leadership of President Roosevelt, while the Republicans nominated the Hoover-supported Dewey in defiance of the leadership of the titular head of the Republican Party, Wendell Willkie. It may be argued with some truth that these nominations are the result of party-machine manipulation, and do not truly reflect the wishes of either the Democratic or Republican voters. But the fact remains that the party machines dared make these nominations only because they thought they could get away with it. They believe that the present atmosphere in the country is such that they could do today that which they never would have dared some time ago, and which they most certainly would not be able to get away with if the defeatists had not made some headway. For it has already been demonstrated in the primaries in a number of states that the defeatist and appeasement forces have been able to confuse many voters and temporarily strengthen their position.

To be sure, the results of the primaries are far from one-sided. In those places where the candidates stood for a resolute policy of the offensive, for the Second Front, against the appeasers and defeatists, where they made the winning of the war the major issue, the win-the-war candidates won overwhelming victories despite great odds. Thus, it is true that, as against the victories of the defeatists, Fish (Rep.) and Barry (Dem.) in New York State, Representative Marcantonio was able to win in all three primaries, Republican, Democratic and American Labor party. And he won, not because (as the *New York Sun* would have us believe) the 20th Congressional District is a little "Moscow" corner in the heart of New York, but only because in the 20th Congressional District, which is basically no different from other districts, the candidate, Marcantonio, made the war the main issue, campaigned vigorously for the Second Front, for the President's 7-point anti-inflation program, for maximum production, including war orders and jobs for the State and City, against the defeatists and appeasers. Similarly in California, where the Hoover Republican, Warren, not only won the Republican nomination, but received a surprisingly heavy vote against Gov. Olsen in the Democratic primaries, those candidates like Lieut. Governor Patterson and State Senator Kenny, who made the war the major issue, came out for the Second Front, and in general made a vigorous campaign for the offensive on the battlefront and against the enemies at home, received overwhelming majorities in the Democratic primaries as running mates of Governor Olson. They also received much support in the Republican primaries, with Kenny, who is the candidate for State Attorney General, almost capturing the Republican nomination. The same picture is presented in the results of the pri-

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maries for Congressional seats in California. Those candidates who favored an aggressive prosecution of the war and who exposed the defeatists and appeasers fared much better than those who tried to carry on on the basis of "politics as usual."

The picture is similar in all other states where primaries have already been held. In Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio, for example, win-the-war candidates made a good showing where they brought the war issues to the masses. In Illinois the outstanding victory in the Democratic primaries of Congressman McKeogh, running for United States Senate against the defeatist Republican Senator Brooks; in Ohio the victory of Feighan, who defeated the Coughlinite Congressman Sweeny; the outstanding victory a few months ago of Congressman Holland in the special election in Pennsylvania; all these demonstrate conclusively that the masses are ready for an aggressive win-the-war program on the battlefronts and at home and will rally behind candidates who champion such policies.

But it would not do to balance off the favorable results in the primaries against the bad ones and be satisfied at that. It is necessary to cite and study the good results in order to draw lessons from them; how to overcome the bad ones and how to avoid them in the future. But, on the whole, despite advances in many localities, the results should be recognized as a danger signal. The gains made by the Hoover Republicans and the Farley Democrats represent a strengthening of the hold on the machinery of government by the forces representing appeasement, defeatism, negotiated peace plans, business and politics as usual, pro-fascists and Copperheads; in a word, those whose policies would lose the war.

The causes for some of these setbacks are many and complex. Basically, they stem from one fatal weakness—the failure to develop an aggressive win-the-war strategy on the battlefront and on the home front. The first big mistake made by the Roosevelt Administration was in allowing to pass unchallenged the cry of the opposition that the war was not an issue in the campaign. The moment the New Deal forces allowed this to happen they invited defeat. Secondly, the Administration and New Deal forces were evidently frightened away from active participation in the primaries by those who charged that the President was interfering in elections and politics. By this the New Deal forces suffered at the hands of those who accepted this charge as a "crime" against the war effort, while at the same time they actually did very little to influence the primaries. Once the Administration failed to challenge the proposition that the war is not an issue in the campaign it was possible for the New Deal opponents to charge the Administration's influence in the campaign as diverting the President from the war effort and as "politics as usual." Thirdly, the New Deal forces did not expose and oppose the appeasers and defeatists on the issues involved. This weakness was in-

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evitable once the first two mistakes were made.

These mistakes can best be illustrated by what happened in the New York Gubernatorial contest in the Democratic party. First, the New Deal forces waited, without lifting a finger, and allowed Farley to line up delegates. Then, when Mead was belatedly put forward, his campaign managers did not make the war the issue; they did not charge Farley and Bennett with a plot against the President. They, in fact, pledged themselves in advance to give full support to Bennett if the convention nominated him. Their whole campaign was based on the plea that Mead stood a better chance of being elected. Under these conditions the Farley machine had all the advantages and took them. The New Deal forces in New York State suffered a serious but wholly avoidable blow.

How the failure to take the offensive against Hitler by opening the Second Front has contributed to the victories of the reactionaries and defeatists in the primaries thus far can be seen from the fact that these opponents of the Administration were able to take advantage of every real and imaginary grievance against the Administration by turning the very conditions for which they were responsible against the President and his supporters. They were the ones who influenced and brought pressure for caution with regard to the Second Front and then charged that the Administration was not winning the war. They were the ones who, through the action of some reactionary employers and failure to back the President's seven-point program against inflation, created restlessness among the workers, who saw their just grievances unanswered, while profiteering continued unrestricted. They blamed the Administration for the workers' grievances, while rousing other classes against the workers and against the Administration when isolated groups of workers went on short strikes in defiance of even the trade union leadership. They were the ones who, through their policies, made difficult the better distribution of war orders so that small business could also participate in the war production program, and then used the grievances of small business against the New Deal. They were the ones who in Congress attacked the New Deal program to aid the small farmers and then used the discontent of these farmers against the Administration. They were the ones who blocked the passage of the poll tax repeal and the anti-lynch bill and then appealed to the Negroes, smarting under these injustices, for support against the Administration.

Thus, it is clear that the New Deal forces, by failing to develop an aggressive campaign in behalf of the President's economic program, the Administration by its failure thus far to carry through the Roosevelt - Molotov - Churchill agreements with regard to the Second Front, the failure to develop more fully the war production program in line with an offensive strategy in the war; all these weaknesses have played into the hands of the very same reactionaries and

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defeatists who are responsible for the very conditions which they use against the Administration.

This condition is of course not something new, strange or unexpected. Those who weaken or make concessions to their enemies usually reap such results. As is well known, President Lincoln during the Civil War suffered a serious setback in the Congressional and State elections in 1862. He almost lost the control of Congress, and in New York, for example, the Copperhead Horatio Seymour, a "Peace Democrat" as he was called, won the Governorship, against Lincoln's candidate. At that time also there existed a growing dissatisfaction among the masses with the lack of offensive operations on the part of the Union armies. This lack of offensive policy was typified in General McClellan. A demand arose among the people for the removal of McClellan and for offensive operations, not unlike the demand for the Second Front today.

The following from Carl Sandburg's famous *Abraham Lincoln—The War Years* will show how the weaknesses of the Lincoln Administration then operated in a way that is most meaningful for us today:

"Political confusion of that hour was told in interviews that Congressmen had with Lincoln just after the elections. William D. Kelly of Philadelphia came to the White House. Lincoln congratulated him on re-election, saying, as Kelly noted, 'Sit down and tell me how it is that you, for whose election nobody seemed to hope, are returned with a good majority at your back, while so many of our friends about whom there was no doubt have been badly beaten.' Kelly said that six months earlier he would have been beaten, *but he had been saved by his independent demand for a fighting general to replace McClellan.* . . .

"At this point in Kelly's talk Congressman Edward McPherson of the Gettysburg district came in. He had just been beaten in what was regarded as a certain Republican district. Lincoln shook hands with McPherson and asked why there had been 'so unhappy and unexpected a result' in his district. . . .

" 'Well, Mr. President,' said McPherson, 'I will tell you frankly what our friends say. They charge the defeat *to the general tardiness in military movements, which results, as they believe, from McClellan's unfitness for command.*' " (Emphasis ours throughout.)*

And who were the beneficiaries as a result of the mass discontent with the "tardiness in military movements"? Were they those who stood for a more aggressive policy? No. They were the Copperheads of the Horatio Seymour type who took advantage of the difficulties and shortcomings as do their current prototypes, the Farleys and Bennetts, the Hoovers and Deweys of today.

A major weakness in the primaries to date has been, in many localities, the insufficient activity and participation, as well as lack of complete unity on the part of the labor movement in the election

* Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln—The War Years*, Vol. I, pp. 605-6.

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struggle. Here also it can be said that where the labor movement displayed serious activity in the elections and achieved the maximum unity, the defeatists and appeasers were routed, while the exponents of aggressive and offensive war, the loyal supporters of the President, were victorious. In those cases where labor was passive and disunited the reactionaries and Copperheads were victorious. The Coughlinite Sweeny in Ohio was beaten only because the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., unitedly and in alliance with all other New Deal and win-the-war forces, campaigned vigorously for his win-the-war opponent. The same is true in almost every other case where the Copperheads were defeated.

Let us again take the situation in New York State. The C.I.O. came out in support of and campaigned for Senator Mead and against John J. Bennett. But the A. F. of L. leadership officially adopted a "neutral" position, stating that they intended to support whoever was nominated by the Democratic convention. Some of the A. F. of L. leaders gave a clean bill of health to Bennett as far as his labor record was concerned, despite the fact that his record deserves no support of labor and despite the fact that the labor-baiter Westbrook Pegler told labor in advance that Bennett as well as Dewey was anti-labor and anti-New Deal. Here it must be stated that had the President and the New Deal forces campaigned against Bennett on the war issue, exposed the Farley conspiracy, the A. F. of L. could have been rallied behind Mead just as the C.I.O. was. It must also be said that had the Left and progressive forces in the A. F. of L. displayed more initiative and aggressiveness in the struggle against Bennett, they would have been able to convince many delegates to the Democratic convention that Bennett would not receive the support of the bulk of the A. F. of L. workers in the state. This might have had a decisive effect on the results of the convention.

By the time this issue of *The Communist* reaches the reader the primary fights will be over. The main task now is to determine the outcome of the November elections. In a few cases there will be, as a result of defeats in the primaries, little chance for the voters to register their support for a win-the-war candidate. In other cases, as in the New York State elections, the voters will have to choose between win-the-war and Copperhead-defeatist candidates in the Congressional elections, irrespective of party affiliation; while for the State ticket the voters will be able to register their vote for the Communist and American Labor party candidates as the only expression of support for a genuine win-the-war program. Everywhere there will be some candidates by the support of whom the voters will be able to register their will, even if these may not always be the candidates for major office. In all cases the voters will have to be won to defeat the Hoover Republicans and the Farley Democrats where they have been nominated.

The New Deal candidates for the final elections, all those who are

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supporters of the President's war program, must be made to see the cardinal lessons of the primaries, namely, that only by a vigorous offensive policy on the battlefront and on the "home war front" can they win. The final election outcome will of course be greatly affected by what happens on the far-flung battlefronts of the United Nations against the Axis and primarily by what happens on the Eastern Front. This in turn will depend on the opening of the Second Front. Candidates who take up now the demand for the opening of the Second Front are therefore making the best possible campaign for election. The outcome of the elections will also depend on how the President grapples with and solves the pressing economic and production problems. Here too the candidates who wish to win can do nothing better than to support an all-out economic program that will assure the maximum production and the greatest degree of national unity.

The labor movement must enter more actively into the election struggle and strive to achieve the maximum unity behind a single win-the-war candidate for every office. This campaign can and should result in greater unity of the labor movement around the burning win-the-war issues and thus contribute to both the election of win-the-war candidates and to greater unity of the labor movement in general. Furthermore, the election campaign furnishes the possibility for the crystallization of a greater and higher degree of united and independent political action on the part of labor. This is most urgent for the successful conduct of the war and assurance of the progressive development of our nation after the war.

United and independent political action of labor on a national, state and local scale does not mean the separation of the labor movement from other win-the-war and progressive forces of the nation, state or locality. On the contrary, the unity and independent political action of labor mean that there will be even greater possibilities for the unity among workers, farmers, the Negro people, the middle classes in the cities, professionals and all the common people—for winning the war, for the maintenance and extension of all progressive and democratic achievements of the American people. It will mean that labor and the people will not allow the two old parties to become the tools of the appeasers, defeatists, reactionaries and Copperheads, through which the war will be endangered and the country set back. That whether through one of the two old parties as until now, under the New Deal, or through a new realignment which may develop, the people will determine and control their own destiny.

The Communists, who have already contributed a great deal to the support of the win-the-war candidates in the election struggle, must now redouble their effort in this direction. Everywhere, whether accompanied by Communist candidates or not, the Communists must bring to the millions the win-the-war policies and platform of our

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Party. In this campaign we are not fighting for issues that are not already acceptable and urgently needed by the great mass of the American people. We have no partisan interests. Our only objective is to make the election campaign the mobilization of the masses for the all-out war effort, to unite the people behind the Commander-in-Chief of our country, for the Second Front, for speeding up production, for the realization of our slogan, *Everything to Win the War,* and election of those candidates who will support the President in this effort. In this situation the strengthening of the independent mass work in the election campaign of the Party will play a very important role in developing that unity.

III

The *Economics of All-Out War* by Comrade Browder, appearing in this issue of *The Communist,* is the most fundamental treatment of this vital question ever attempted by anyone in this country. It is no accident that it is the spokesman of the Communist Party and of no other organization who has come forward with this profound and most practical approach to all the economic problems that we face as part of the war effort. This program (if any evidence is still needed) shows that the Communist Party not only in words but in deeds subordinates everything to the primary task of winning this war for the survival of our nation, for its security and independence, and that the Communist Party policies, free of any partisan motives, aim to bring about the maximum production, the maximum national unity. The fact that none other than Comrade Browder could or did bring forth this program emphasizes not only his stature as the leader of the Communist Party, but how correct were all those Communist and non-Communist forces in the labor and progressive movement who urged his freedom on the ground that it would serve the cause of national unity. Comrade Browder is not only the leader of the Communist Party, its General Secretary, but one of the outstanding thinkers and leaders of our time, one who takes his place among the great pioneers and patriots of our country.

"Maximum war production," declares Browder, "requires a central administration which will plan, direct, guide and control the entire economy of the nation. Until we begin to build such a central administration, the nation will be simply muddling along, setting up one makeshift after another."

The whole country has been made conscious of a large number of unsolved economic problems in the last weeks. We have been told that there is a crisis in some phases of our war production program as a result of insufficient or bad planning and the failure of the priorities system, resulting in a real or, in some cases, artificial shortage of raw material essential to the manufacture of offensive weapons. This has already led to serious disputes and reorganizations in the War Production Board set-up. We know that after months of discussion our Congress has as yet not passed a war

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tax bill which would assure the needed funds on the basis of ability to pay. At this moment there is great confusion, with the reactionary forces pressing for legislation directed to place the heaviest burden on those least able to pay, with the very rich and big corporations escaping the responsibilities of paying all they can and should, on the ground that they must have big profits as an incentive to furnish the country with the needed war material.

The President's seven-point anti-inflation program has been sabotaged and shot full of holes by vested interests, profiteers and reactionaries of all sorts. The reactionary forces who from the beginning have tried to use the war for the purpose of attacking labor's living standards and to undermine and weaken the trade union movement are still at this game. Labor-Management Committees are in many cases resisted and in others they have only a formal existence. Labor's essential and necessary role in the war production set-up is still resisted.

As a consequence of all this there have been signs of a growing restiveness among the workers, in some instances even resulting in unauthorized strikes. John L. Lewis in the labor movement and other influences from the outside, such as the Coughlinites and the K.K.K., are urging on the discontented workers against their trade union leadership and against the President's war program.

This situation was clearly reflected in the recent convention of the United Automobile Workers of America and in the strike threat of some of the leaders of the aluminum workers. A similar situation exists in some other unions, affiliates of both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. In this connection it is interesting to note that there has been a growing interruption of production recently, in those plants that still have so-called "independent unions," in many cases actually company unions.

Often, as was reflected among some sections of auto workers (especially the very militant but still inexperienced groups only recently drawn into industry), the discontent of the workers with housing shortages, profiteering prices, neglect of grievance adjustment in the face of huge corporation profits, and unfulfilled war production schedules, creates among them a cynicism toward the war and renders them easy prey for the sinister agents of the appeasers and fifth columnists, who are consciously trying to sabotage the war effort. In other cases this condition has resulted in the ability of the Trotskyites and Norman Thomas "Socialists" to confuse the workers with pseudo-Left phrases. They use these difficulties to try to convince the workers that this is not a war of national liberation, but that it is like the last war, an "imperialist" war. They charge all employers with being unpatriotic and, by inciting "class against class," try to undermine the war production program and national unity. These misleaders call upon the workers to make no sacrifices, with the demagogic claim that this is not

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their war. They incite to strikes and slow-downs.

Unfortunately, a number of honest and sincere labor leaders, because they do not fully understand how to cope with these questions, adopt one of two policies, either of which weakens the war effort. They either try to smooth things over, denying the existence of the workers' just grievances and unsolved problems and thus lose the leadership of the workers to the reactionary and defeatist elements. Or they accomplish the same thing, and worse, by repeating the phrases of these defeatists in "Left" clothes. They either tell the workers that since they have given up the strike weapon for the duration there is nothing to be done, or they join in the threats of strikes as the solution of the workers' grievances.

It is a tribute to the leadership of the United Automobile Workers of America and to the whole C.I.O. under the leadership of Philip Murray that, on the whole, they have been able to rally the workers in the basic war production industries for the win-the-war policies and to assure uninterrupted production. It is only among the more politically backward workers that the Lewisites, Norman Thomasites, Coughlinites and the Ku Klux Klan are able to temporarily influence and trap. But even this shows how urgent it is not to neglect the political education of the workers, to explain and explain again the people's character of the war, the dangers involved, the role and responsibility of labor, the need for national unity and the maximum production effort.

It is also necessary to show that while the strike weapon has been given up for the duration, this does not mean that the workers are helpless in their struggle for the adjustment of grievances that must be rectified in the interest of the war effort, grievances that if not adjusted would impair both the physical capacity of the workers to produce and their morale, and thus weaken the war effort. These forms of struggle are political. They do not and need not involve one minute's interruption of production. The workers, through their unions, and especially through the united action of all sections of the labor movement, can win the support of the other sections of the population for their just demands and receive a hearing and adjustment of their grievances through the existing government boards, through legislation, and through the most effective participation in the elections.

Already thanks to the united stand of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. the workers have been able to win many of their demands through decisions of the War Labor Board, including wage adjustments and union security. Already some advances have been made in overcoming discrimination in the hiring of Negro workers. Much more can and must be done. Already there has been a shake-up in the War Production Board, with a change in the priorities system in favor of those weapons needed most quickly for the immediate battlefront.

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Already, as a result of meetings of Chairman Nelson and the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leadership, there is a promise of greater representation of labor in the production setup. The President is taking a hand in putting into effect the anti-inflation program, and should be supported in this by the whole people.

All this shows that while there are many urgent problems to be solved, things are not as bad as some would have us believe. Despite all weaknesses progress has been made. Already we have produced enough to make possible the immediate opening of the Second Front. We must take care not to allow the defeatists to try to use the difficulties on the economic front to tell us that we are not yet prepared for offensive action.

But Comrade Browder's fundamental analysis of the present economic program and his proposal for a unified and centralized national war economy and administration show us that many of the present problems were not solved, because they could not be solved satisfactorily on the basis of the present policies; that what we have been and are still doing is trying to solve some of the problems before us by dealing only with the effects and not the causes.

It is therefore essential that we discuss Comrade Browder's proposals in every leading committee of the Party, that the proposals be discussed by and fully explained to the Party membership. That the plan be made available to the leadership of the labor movement, and to the leaders of all the people's organizations in every community. That comradely discussions through small circles and forums be organized for the joint discussion of the plan. That our Party bring this plan to the attention of all candidates for public office, and all political organizations. And that our own party make the substance of these proposals one of the major issues in its election struggle.

The Browder proposal for a unified and centralized war economy and administration, just as the Second Front, is essential to victory in the war against the Axis. Its speedy realization is necessary to assure the maximum mobilization for the war effort on the home front, and for the guarantee that offensive operations of our country and of all the United Nations will be sustained with all the material necessary until the complete annihilation of the Axis is assured. Its adoption will strengthen and promote national unity of all the win-the-war forces in the country and serve to crush the attempts of all the appeasers, defeatists, fifth columnists, business-as-usual forces who undermine national unity. In a word, it is a program for *victory*.

IV

In this hour of great danger and great decision, the American working class faces its greatest responsibility. This responsibility comes first of all from the fact that the working class, the most advanced, the most progressive, the most numerous class, the most consistent and uncompromising foe of fascism, the basic force in production, is

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therefore the backbone of the struggle for our national security and independence, the class to which more and more the whole people looks for guidance and leadership. This great responsibility also arises from the fact that it is the working class of a great and powerful nation—the United States—which, together with the Soviet Union and Great Britain, forms the backbone and the leading coalition in this global war of the United Nations against the Axis threat of slavery for the peoples of the entire world.

To fulfill its historic role and great responsibility, the American working class must not only display the greatest political initiative and activity in determining the course of the war against the mortal enemies of all mankind, not only exert itself to produce to the maximum the tools of war for our country and all the United Nations, not only strive for the greatest national unity in our country in struggle against its internal enemies, *but through unity in its own ranks and the cooperation of the labor movement of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and of all the United Nations, achieve the maximum war effort in our own country, the greatest unity and joint struggle of the United Nations.*

Great strides have already been made by the working class in this direction. The workers are in the forefront of the struggle for the Second Front. The workers and their trade unions are setting an example to all our people in energetic activity and self-sacrifice in the cause of our country's freedom and independence. The workers, to the degree that they are already conscious of the danger and recognize the true role of the appeasers and defeatists, are opposing these dangerous enemies of our country with all their might. Increasing expressions of international solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and Great Britain, the peoples of India and of all the United Nations are taking place daily. Great strides forward have already been made in the development of united action on the part of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., the two great labor organizations, embracing eleven million members. But the absence of complete labor unity of the labor organizations in our country and the failure of the A. F. of L. leadership to join with the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods for affiliation of the American trade union movement with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee is hindering the maximum mobilization for the war. These weaknesses must be overcome.

There is great hope in the labor movement that the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. negotiations that are about to begin will result in organic unity of the two organizations in the shortest possible time. There can be no doubt that the great mass of the membership of the two organizations urgently and sincerely desire unity. There is no disagreement on policy as far as the great mass of the workers are concerned. Aside from the Hutchesons and Lewises, there seems to be a growing agreement on all vital questions between the leadership of the C.I.O. and the

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A. F. of L. This is evidenced by the joint stand recently taken by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. on all questions coming before the War Labor Board and the conferences with Chairman Nelson. The speeches of President Murray and of President Green regarding the need for offensive action, for full support of the President's war policies, show basic agreement. There are, of course, differences on some issues, there are numerous organizational problems to be solved. But with a sincere approach by the leadership of the two organizations there is no reason why the basic agreements that do exist should not outweigh any differences and bring about labor unity.

The growing boldness of the appeasers and defeatists, as well as the reactionaries and enemies of labor, generally shows how important it is that labor unity be achieved. A united labor movement will tremendously increase the prestige and authority of labor among the people and gain for the labor movement ever-greater recognition in the councils of government, in all phases of the conduct of the war. It will make possible the greatest degree of national unity around the President and the win-the-war program. It will help isolate and defeat those who hinder the war effort and who are working for a negotiated peace with Hitler. It would be an important step in the demand for the opening of the Second Front and an offensive all along the line against the Axis powers.

In face of the present danger and the responsibilities of labor, there are no obstacles to labor unity that cannot be overcome if old prejudices and minor differences are subordinated to the main goal. Let us remember that it was lack of labor unity that has time and again made it possible for the enemies of labor and of our nation to take advantage of this division and hold back or weaken the struggle against the Axis. Let us remember that it was disunity of labor that made possible the advance of fascism, and the destruction of nations by Hitler.

It will not matter if not all jurisdictional questions are solved before labor unity is established. Many of these problems will be solved much more easily later, once one united trade union movement is established. All that is really necessary as a basis for trade union unity is agreement on basic program, adherence to democratic procedures and the guarantee for the maintenance of all the advances in organization made by the labor movement since the formation of the C.I.O. There is certainly no reason why the struggle for leadership should present an obstacle to labor unity. In a united labor movement of eleven to twelve million, which would open up the prospects of the organization of many new millions of unorganized, with the greater role that such a united labor movement would play in the affairs of the nation, there is plenty of room for all honest and capable leaders of both organizations to give even greater service to the labor movement and to the people.

Despite the fact that the Communists have proven, not only by

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words, but above all by deeds, that they are dedicated to and fight for a united labor movement, there are still some in the labor movement and outside who continue to charge that the Communists are opposed to labor unity, since a united labor movement, they say, would weaken the influence of the Communists and the Left forces in the labor movement. In the first place, let it be said that the Communists would be for a united labor movement which is in the interests of labor and the nation, even if it were true that it would weaken the influence of the Communists. But we do not in fact believe this to be true. If the Communists continue to work and fight as they do today, their influence will be no less if not greater in a united labor movement than it is today in the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. But what some of these gentlemen really have in mind is that there be begun a "purge" of Communists and Left forces in the labor movement. Such people really do not want labor unity. They want to employ the Dies method of labeling every progressive a Communist and purge him for the purpose of disrupting the labor movement. They would help Hitler by using Hitler methods in the labor movement. They want to drive every militant anti-fascist out of the labor movement. The Communists do not fear this either. They have every confidence that the labor movement will not fall into this trap, and that at any rate in those organizations controlled by the Hutchesons and the Lewises, the workers will have something to say before they allow these people to disrupt the trade union organizations.

It can be certain that the workers of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will follow with the greatest interest and attention the unity negotiations. There is little doubt that the membership of the C.I.O. and all the affiliated organizations will rally behind President Murray and the C.I.O. policies in these negotiations and against any attempt by Lewis or *any others* to disrupt the negotiations, or to use these negotiations for any intrigues against the C.I.O. and its leadership. And it can be equally certain that the bulk of the A. F. of L. membership, the local organizations, the state and local A. F. of L. bodies, the District Councils and many of the national unions will voice their sentiments for genuine trade union unity and will oppose any maneuvers by the Hutchesons or others to prevent labor unity on a sound and principled basis.

Future historians and students of the labor movement will wonder how it was that long after the establishment of the United Nations and the United States-British-Soviet alliance, there was still no corresponding cooperation of the trade union movements of the workers in these three great countries. And we are certain that the workers will pass harsh judgment against those who will continue to oppose the international solidarity of the trade union movement.

As was to be expected, the great trade union movement of the U.S.S.R. could not accept the insulting proposal that the British unions

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shall act as the intermediary between the American and Soviet trade union movements. It is now also clear that the British workers and public opinion in Britain generally, as is evidenced by the stand of the *London Times*, is voicing its disapproval over the position taken by Sir Walter Citrine in this country, in dealing only with the A. F. of L. and ignoring the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods. There is no doubt also that the British workers no less than the American workers, including the A. F. of L. workers, are in favor of the formation of a Joint United States-British-Soviet Trade Union Committee and are opposed to the acceptance of the A. F. of L. proposal of the so-called "liaison" arrangement.

It is now clear that the "clever" way out of the A. F. of L. Council settled nothing. The whole question of international labor collaboration is now once again in the forefront. The C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods favor the formation of a joint committee, including, of course, the Soviet trade unions. It is also clear that the bulk of the A. F. of L. membership takes the same stand. The unanimous stand on this question by the recent Ohio State Federation of Labor Convention, the petition of some 200 outstanding A. F. of L. leaders in New York State, addressed to the A. F. of L. Council, among other manifestations, make this very clear. Already last May the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor also went on record for the American-British-Soviet trade union alliance. Numerous other organizations of the A. F. of L. have acted similarly. The Latin American Confederation of Labor has come out vigorously for the international trade union alliance of all the labor movements of all the United Nations. The A. F. of L. Council will not long be able to maintain its position dictated by the Hutchesons, Wolls and anti-Soviet "Social-Democrats," to the effect that the Soviet trade unions are not "genuine trade unions." Such a shameful attitude is a reflection rather on the Hutchesons and Wolls than on the great Soviet trade union movement, which together with the rest of the Soviet people is by its courageous, brilliant and self-sacrificing struggle against Hitler's fascist beasts, fighting for our freedom and independence, no less than for their own.

It is the duty of every A. F. of L. member, every A. F. of L. organization to wipe out this shameful act on the part of the A. F. of L. Council and demand a complete reversal on the part of the A. F. of L. leadership. From every organization of the A. F. of L. there should go a demand to the A. F. of L. Council and to the coming A. F. of L. convention that the A. F. of L. together with the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods shall immediately establish negotiations *directly* with the Soviet and British trade unions for the formation of an American - Soviet - British Trade Union Committee.

It was the failure to establish international trade union action which made possible the advance of fascism in Germany and in Europe and the destruction of nations by

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the Axis. It was the failure to establish international trade union cooperation that made impossible the victory of the policy of collective security to halt Hitler. It was the failure to establish international trade union solidarity that led to the conquest of Spain by fascism. It is the absence of international trade union cooperation which is today one of the important factors holding back the fulfillment of the pledges for the immediate opening of the Second Front. Those who today oppose international trade union cooperation are, whether they want to or not, whether they know it or not, working against the policies of the United Nations, against the all-out united offensive against Hitler and the rest of the Axis.

The establishment of an American-Soviet-British Joint Trade Union Committee will give the greatest impetus to the offensive policy in the conduct of the war, will bring new encouragement and strength to the workers in the occupied countries, will be a heavy blow against the fascists and appeasers everywhere, will help bring about the speediest victory in our just war of national liberation against fascist slavery, and will help influence the establishment of a just peace and post-war reconstruction. Toward this end, the Communists and the Left Wing in the labor movement have a historic responsibility.

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THE ECONOMICS OF ALL-OUT WAR

BY EARL BROWDER

Speech delivered at the New York State Convention of the Communist Party, at Manhattan Center, New York City, August 29, 1942.

COMRADES, I asked for the floor to speak to you today not on the most immediate questions before this convention and the country which have already been dealt with in the opening speech of Comrade Green in such a brilliant fashion. What I have to say about those questions, I am going to say very briefly tomorrow afternoon. But I thought that it would be of some value to us in this gathering if we should turn our thoughts in a somewhat concentrated fashion toward new economic problems, which are arising in our country as the result of the war needs. These problems are new for our country, and because they are new, the whole country is only feeling its way toward their solution. No one has yet given a clear and comprehensive lead for the answers to these problems, and it would be somewhat arrogant for me to pretend that I am going to give you their solution.

But I think it is especially necessary for the labor movement to be thinking deeply about the problems of a war economy, from the point of view of successful war, and to bring forward their contributions to the solution of this national problem. And, within the labor movement, it is especially incumbent upon the Communists to be among the clearest thinkers and to try to make a substantial contribution.

There is a very pressing and immediate motive for the trade unions to be taking up the economic problem along new lines. The functioning of trade unions as guardians of the economic interests of the workers is becoming more important with every passing day, not only for labor but for the whole country, for production and for victory. Yet the nature of this problem is changing so rapidly that if the trade union movement lags behind in the full understanding of the changes, there is grave danger that we will not only have rising economic strains within the country between labor and management which will result in dangerous economic strife, but we will have political strains unnecessarily arising between labor and the government. We must foresee these problems so that we will not find it necessary to muddle through to a solution. We must be able to see the solution in time to relieve these strains and to avoid the strife. The harmful conflicts that will

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otherwise arise will hamper our country's war effort and delay if not endanger our victory.

The Wages Question in a War Economy

Just a few preliminary remarks about that side of the economic problems of the trade unions traditionally associated with the question of wages. In certain irresponsible quarters, the Communist Party is already being accused of proposing to sacrifice the interests of the workers to the capitalists, because of our firm and unshakable insistence on the necessity of uninterrupted war production. Only a week or so ago, that irresponsible journal, the *New Leader*, printed such a charge against us. And some writers who have access to the columns of the official news sheet of the American Federation of Labor have also printed such a charge against us. That charge is a malicious slander that could only be made by people who put narrow factional considerations above the true interests of labor, which are inseparable from the interests of our country as a whole in this war.

We must say, however, that our party, and with us the whole trade union movement, will have to begin to view the question of wages from a new standpoint. So long as the question of wages is not placed in a new setting, so long as it is conceived as a matter of "rewards" rather than of necessities of production, so long as it is dealt with merely under that over-simple and sometimes misleading slogan of equality of sacrifice, we will not find the road to the adjustment of the question of wages without conflicts. And it is not possible to permit the determination of wages to lapse back for settlement by conflict, the only conclusion of which is strike action.

What is wrong about finding a guide to the question of wages in the slogan of "equality of sacrifice"? What is wrong about that is that it assumes that wages are some sort of surplus which is taken out of the economy, just as profits are taken out of the economy, and that if the capitalists sacrifice their profits, the workers must sacrifice their wages. Now, I don't want to argue against that on any moral grounds. Tonight I am speaking entirely in the terms of what Carlyle called the "dismal" science—economics—and I want to speak against that "equality of sacrifice" slogan as an impediment and obstruction in the way of achieving the maximum production for the war.

There can be no doubt that sacrifices must be made to win the war, but there cannot be any real measuring of these sacrifices on the basis of "equity."

Wages must be dealt with upon the basis of providing the most efficient working class for the tasks of production consistent with the supply of consumers' goods and services that can be made available in the country in an all-out war economy. The moment we look beyond the money form of wages and think in terms of the actual needs of production essential for victory in the war, the question of wages takes on an entirely new significance. Wages expressed in money no longer express a standard of life;

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wages must now, therefore, be expressed in a guaranteed supply of the worker's needs as a producer. This is the only way production can be maintained on the scale required for a successful prosecution of the war, and, in this war of survival, the requirements for victory constitute the supreme, overriding law in every sphere of our national life.

Wages and Inflation

In the current discussion, if it can be dignified by the name of discussion, which is going on in our newspapers about the dangers of inflation, the automatic answer is brought forward that inflation must be avoided by depressing the living standards of the working class—that is, by lowering the provision for maintaining the human factor in production. That is pointed out as the main, if not the only, economic measure for combating inflation. This is utter nonsense in the economic field; it is idiocy in the political field; and it is the greatest present threat to the war production program.

If the working class is going to give maximum production for the war, this means that every possible worker and every possible machine must be employed, or, to put it in the terms of your excellent slogan, "Not an idle man, not an idle machine, not an idle acre." If every available man and woman is employed for the war production, it is clear that wages must be translated into the terms of the food and clothing and shelter that can be made available under an ordered war economy for these people who are doing the work to secure their fullest possible efficiency, and counting as an inescapable part of this the maintenance of families.

No matter what wages might be paid in money it cannot under an all-out war economy mean anything more in terms of immediate consumption of commodities than the best use of the available supply. The supply of consumers' goods is not a fixed quantity, although under the strain of war a heavy limitation is put upon it. But if the economy is properly administered with the aid of effective rationing and price fixing and is not allowed to get out of hand through the development of disproportions and breaks, there is not the slightest reason why the money wage that is paid, regardless of how it is expressed in dollars, cannot be made to use the supply that is available or why new sources of supply of consumers' goods cannot be developed for strengthening our working force in the most effective way possible.

It has become an absolute necessity for the trade unions to begin to think of wages in those terms, in terms of the national economy adjusted to all-out war, and in terms of the nation's need to feed and clothe and house its working force.

This new approach to the economic functions of trade unions has already begun to force itself upon them. This is not so much evident in New York, which has been neglected and discriminated against in the opportunities to produce directly for the war, but it is developing in the large centers of heavy war production in the sharpest form.

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In Detroit, for example, the monetary wage provides no solution whatever to the problem of housing. Under our old economic rules, if a man had sufficient money, he had sufficient of everything. Money was immediately translatable into whatever kind of commodities one wanted. That is no longer true. And to attack the wages question purely from the money end is, in Detroit for example, and in many other communities of the United States, no solution to the housing problem at all. The housing problem has to be taken up by the trade unions and the Government as one of the most pressing questions of war industry; and the fact that it must be taken up by the trade unions is proven by the fact that it is not taken up effectively by anybody else. Because, in all the considerations of war production, the last thing that comes into consideration is the most essential factor in production, and that is the production worker himself.

Transition from Peace Economy to War Economy

This leading thought on the connection between the deeper problems of the nation's economy and the everyday life of our trade union movement does not answer any of your concrete questions. It merely indicates a new line along which our trade union leaders must begin to think very intensively. It leads us directly to the central problem presented by this period for the economy of our nation as a whole. This general problem is the sum total of all the problems that are involved in the transition from the peacetime economy, which we have, to the stronger economy which we must have for war. We no longer have a peacetime economy, and we have not yet got our war economy. We are in that transition period in which, because we do not see our way clear toward where we are going, we don't know what kind of economy a war economy is. Because of that, we are feeling our way, we are muddling along; and the country is in the greatest confusion on practically all economic questions. This confusion is so great that we even had voices in the press during the last week speaking of the "imminence of an economic breakdown in the country" and demanding that again we shall scrap all the beginnings we have made in the direction of a war economy and try to run this war with a peacetime economy.

Well, we have had already quite an experience of one economic administrative apparatus being set up and then having to give way to a new one which, in turn, doesn't fill the bill and has to walk off the stage and give way to another one. The resulting confusion in the public mind has reflected a confusion in the economy and a lack of directing policy which have been very harmful. But change made merely for the sake of change, or to try something new in the hope that this time God will favor us with success, is not getting us far along the path.

Some progress is being made toward a war economy, despite the outcries of the anti-Roosevelt critics. And we must sharply dissociate ourselves from those critics who see in every weakness and

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difficulty a reason to retreat away from a war economy, to change our direction. We, on the contrary, criticize in order to speed up and make more complete the transition to a fully centralized war economy toward which the Administration is slowly beginning to move.

We can understand the bewilderment of the successful business man and economic specialist who has been called to Washington and finds himself faced with problems he never dreamed could exist. We understand that in this period of transition to a war economy, this successful business man and executive who comes into Washington feels very much like Alice when she stepped through the looking-glass. Certainly, everything seems to be the opposite of what it was in the natural world. Right becomes left, and all the rules work in reverse. It is no wonder that so many of these business men have retired with severe headaches. Nothing is quite so painful as a business man being forced to think along new channels, unless it is a confirmed bureaucrat in a similar fix. But new channels of thought are inexorably demanded for the handling of a war economy. The chaos in war production today is but the sign of that difficult change-over from one set of economic rules to another which is still imperfectly comprehended and which cannot be comprehended in terms of the old economy which is left behind.

Unlimited Demand and Limited Supply

Our economic leaders learned their practice and theory in an economy in which an abundance of money automatically commanded an abundance of goods, and the only visible limit of supply was the limit of effective demand, that is, a demand backed up by money.

The war is already quickly changing all that. An absolute abundance of money for the present needs of the war has already been appropriated by Congress. It is announced as having passed $200,000,000,000. Thereby, Congress has satisfied its conscience, done its bit for the war, and can pass on to politics-as-usual. Actually, the Congressional appropriations mean only one thing, that Congress has handed over to the executive the complete responsibility and authority for war production. The fetishism of the dollar-sign, which sees in appropriations an act solving the economic problems of the war, has already demonstrated its emptiness, and is on the way out. The war budget is merely an expression of the unlimited demand of the war for more and more production.

According to the old rules of economy, such an unlimited demand must immediately result in unlimited supply, and the United States war plans were actually based upon such ideas. But the cold, gray dawn of the morning after such drunken thinking has already dawned. The old rules simply do not work, or they often seem to work in reverse.

As our foremost economic thinkers wake up to this fact, they at once let out a howl about the danger of inflation. They see unlimited demand set over against limited production, which means the sky-

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rocketing of prices, the beginning of the inflation spiral. Whereas previously the greater the demand the cheaper the production—the great rule of American mass production that was made famous in heavy industry the world over by Henry Ford—now suddenly the rule is reversed, and the enormous expansion of demand is suddenly pushing up production costs and prices. The economic experts of the *New York Times,* the National Manufacturers Association, and others, see the imminent danger of inflation and see its remedy at the same moment, the remedy, of course, being to suspend the traditional rules in the handling of wages. They indignantly reject any tampering with the rules of profit, which to them is the mainspring of production without which everything else would come to a halt.

Replacing the Market by Plan

Nowhere in all of the current literature on the economic problem have I been able to find any serious effort to go behind this question of inflation and find its roots in the unsolved problems of the organization of the war economy; except I find some very serious thoughts leading in this direction in some memoranda prepared by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch for Congressional committees, and in the reports of the Tolan Committee on Migration of Labor, the work of that committee having been influenced by Mr. Baruch's writings, as well as by the nature of its own work.

In the Third Interim Report of the Tolan Committee I do find the heart of the whole problem stated very sharply, clearly, succinctly. I want to read a paragraph of the Tolan Report because it stands out in current literature on war economics like a veritable pearl. Here is the quotation:

"There is no phase of our economic life which can be unessential in total war. Every phase must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. Total war requires that our vast economic system be operated along the organizational lines of a single industrial plant. Under conditions of maximum war production, every-day market relationships virtually disappear."

The present confusions, lags, bottlenecks and breakdowns in the war production are in the largest part a result of failure to realize this central truth stated in the Tolan Report and to draw the necessary conclusions. There has been an attempt to arrive at some sort of a compromise between the old peace economy of limited demand and the necessary new war economy which is an economy of unlimited demand, and therefore relative scarcity, that can only be met by administrative control under plan. The inevitable result of such an attempt to compromise between the old and the new is that the country obtains all the defects of both and the virtues of neither. In the words of the Tolan Committee report, it is literally true that for maximum war production every phase of the national economy must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under administrative control; that every-day market relationships virtually disappear.

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The system of priorities, by which it has been attempted to establish some initial central control of the nation's economy, has entirely failed to achieve the ends set forth in the Tolan Committee report. It accords priority to certain purchasers, but otherwise relies entirely upon market relationships, over which it merely attempts to establish a negative direction. It thereby creates confusion in the marketing process, but it introduces no new element of direction. Priority systems are not planning at all, and they are guidance only in a negative way. Maximum war production requires a central administration which will plan, direct, guide and control the entire economy of the nation. Until we begin to build such a central administration, the nation will be simply muddling along, setting up one makeshift after another.

It is an extremely interesting question why, among all the Government agencies concerned with one phase or another of the national economy, why was it the Tolan Committee which came most directly to the heart of the whole national economic problem? The answer undoubtedly is that just because the Tolan Committee was basically charged with the study of the limited problem of the migration of labor, it unerringly was directed, by the nature of its special job, to the heart of the general problem. For the problem of maximum war production is fundamentally and decisively a problem of the organization and distribution of labor. All the other Government agencies which wrestle with the nation's economy have missed the central problems just because labor has been a peripheral factor in their thoughts and not the central factor. The shadow of the dollar has overcast their minds, which are grooved to the mechanism of control through finance, while the substance of man-hours of labor has been dealt with only as a subordinate technical factor, like kilowatt hours of electrical energy.

That is one of the reasons why today, in the ninth month of our country's total war commitment, there is an alarming number of workers and machines unemployed. More, many more, are producing for the war, but this has been achieved only at the cost of enormous and unnecessary dislocations of the total economy, which already threaten dire political repercussions in the populations affected.

The disappearance of every-day market relationships is already taking place, but in a chaotic and disorganized manner, while the central administration of economy by plan is not yet even in process of taking its place. That is the reality of danger behind the panic cries about inflation that arise from our traditionally-minded economists. Inflation can be avoided under a well-organized central administration of the nation's economy as a whole, but there can be no avoidance of inflation without such an administration, for inflation is merely the registration of the breakdown of an economy in which the market has disappeared as a regulating medium while administration has not yet been set up to take its place.

The key mechanism for the central administrative control of econo-

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my is rationing. But this is not the rationing system already known to you, which is only the first step in the direction of a rationed consumption. What I am speaking about is a ration system in the field of production as well, the rationing of materials and labor according to plan and designed to allocate a production task to every available man and machine without regard to market relationships.

Results of Present Planlessness

There is nothing impossible about this setting up of a centralized administrative control of economy. It is necessary to produce an adequate supply of war materials in time to meet military requirements, especially weapons for the immediate opening of the second front, for the offensive now. The technique of such a centralized administrative control of economy is well known, and the technicians are available. As a technical problem it is merely the extension of the system by which the great trusts were built, an extension to cover the entire economy of the country. The difficulties in the way are not technical ones, they are the difficulties of obtaining the effective decisions to do the job! Unwillingness to boldly tackle this job is what prevents it from being done. This unwillingness is so strong that it may possibly require a major economic disaster to push the nation into it. Most of the things that we as a nation have learned through the past three years have been forced into our minds by disaster. We simply couldn't see them until disaster forced us to see them. But exactly that central administration of economy is required to solve the problem of our war economy, because it is the only path which will bring anything approaching maximum war production. In fact, it is the only way to have a continuously functioning economy at all for the whole war period.

Let us glance at the main outlines of the course of war production under the existing system. Unfortunately we do not have the latest results of the Tolan Committee investigation, which are not yet printed; they would be most valuable because they cover the first months of the official war period, whereas the figures I am going to recite are for the latter part of 1941; but we already know that there has been no change in the general outline of facts as revealed in the Third Interim Report of the Tolan Committee. That showed that at the end of 1941 the distribution of war contracts among the existing manufacturing establishments was as follows:

174,000 establishments have no contracts whatever.

10,000 have prime or sub-contracts, out of which

100 hold 83 per cent of all contracts: and out of that 100

10 hold almost one-half of all the war production contracts!

Just think over those figures. I will repeat them again, as I am afraid they may not have sunk in: 184,000 manufacturing establishments in the United States, according to the manufacturing census of 1939—184,000! Out of these 174,000 are not in any way being used for the war! Ten thousand have been

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more or less involved, but among them, 100 hold 83 per cent of all contracts, and 10 of them almost half.

The Tolan Committee report says:

> "The evidence shows that as a result of inadequate production planning and procurement, many communities throughout the nation are faced with economic deterioration and disintegration. Tens of thousands of small business firms are being forced to shut down. Pools of unemployed are gathering throughout the country. Haphazard migration of these unemployed has already begun."

The great majority of manufacturers and workers employed by them are denied the opportunity to engage in war production. They are denied the possibility to produce for civilian purposes. Meanwhile the great corporations which hold the bulk of all contracts are spending much time and materials setting up new plants to fill those contracts while existing plants stand idle.

Some emergency steps are already being forced upon the various institutions in Washington by political pressure to give some relief to this unendurable situation. Such emergency measures are necessary, but for our argument they are unimportant because they in no way change the system which has produced this intolerable situation.

It is sometimes argued that while this may be unfortunate, it is the inevitable result of placing production contracts with the largest and most efficient production units, and that this is necessary no matter what harmful by-products it may bring. We make no concessions to objections that are raised against the allocation of contracts on the basis of efficiency; and on this basis the gigantic plans of heavy industry necessarily play the predominant role in production of the great machines of modern war. No doubt the largest and most efficient units of production must first of all be set to work before production can be spread to the smaller units and the whole economy organized for war.

But what we see going on now is that after more than a year of supposedly maximum transition to war production the spreading of production for war to involve the economy as a whole is not taking place in any considerable degree. Instead there is actually a dismantling and destruction of productive capacity going on throughout this country from one end to the other.

In short, the process of transition to a war economy which is being followed is the most wasteful, the slowest and the most destructive of civilian morale that could well be imagined.

Some False Explanations

Many of our liberal friends explain all this in part as the result of undue influence of the "dollar-a-year" men, the representatives of the industrialists who are working in the first place for their own concerns and incidentally for the Government. I cannot go along with our liberal friends in their war cry against the "dollar-a-year" men in general. I do not doubt that many of the crimes that they charge are true, and such matters require stern

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handling. But to see nothing else means to miss the main problem. If every businessman and every executive who goes to Washington has a patriotism as pure as the driven snow and if he has left behind him every consideration of personal interest, he wouldn't be able to do a job much better than is now being done, unless a system of direction, planning and control were instituted; it is not possible to separate the sheep from the goats as long as the sheep produce the same harmful effect as the goats. And as long as there is no plan and no planned economy and no establishment of an administrative system which really takes control of the economy as a whole, then whether you have good men or bad men isn't going to make very much difference in the long run. They are all going to produce much the same kind of chaos that we have today. And, therefore, in considering economic questions, I refuse to worry too much about the bad "dollar-a-year" men because, with the exception of certain fifth columnist and defeatist elements who are opposing and obstructing the nation's war effort, I can't tell who is good and who is bad until we have a system with a direction to test them by. As long as they are left there with nothing except their own past experience to go on, they will inevitably go wrong because their past experience was no preparation for the solving of the problems of a war economy.

It is not a question of good managers or bad managers, of "dollar-a-year" men against career men or of patriots against profiteers. Those questions can become real only after we have a direction clearly set, an over-all plan laid down, and the men can be judged by the quality of their service to that plan. As long as they are left planless, the search for the bad men or the good men is going to be as aimless as the hunt for a needle in a haystack.

The difficulties are not the result of the bickering and quarreling and jealousies and rivalries against which the President has just issued an instruction. I don't question the wisdom of the President putting a damper on a lot of this noise that comes out of high places, but what I want to make clear is that the difficulties in the economy do not arise out of this bickering and quarreling. These ugly manifestations of Washington life are the result of the economic confusion and not the cause. As long as we have this chaos we are going to have the bickering whether it reaches the ears of the public or not, because when men have no clear direction they inevitably fall to quarreling among themselves, passing the buck and finding the goat. The well-functioning central administration of the economic system could clear that out, but nothing else can.

It is not the incipient inflation already showing itself that is choking our war production. The inflation is the result of economic dislocations and disproportions, rather than the cause. Of course, if inflation should develop very far it begins to have an effect to intensify the chaos. And this causes some people to think that it is the original cause, but that is not at all true. We must keep firmly in our mind that inflation is the result of economic disorganization and not the prime cause. If

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it gets out of hand it becomes a contributing cause, but the root of the cause is the lack of organization.

The truth must be faced that much of the governmental apparatus set up in Washington and over the country to handle economic problems is not only useless from the point of view of an organized economy, but a considerable part of it is positively harmful. It has no organic connection with production but is merely imposed upon production from the outside; it disclaims all responsibility for production, tends to become more and more a parasite, neither plans nor guides nor controls but only imposes certain demands upon the course of production. This kind of apparatus cannot develop into anything better because there is no working conception of management and administration behind it. It can only collapse in a chaos of recrimination and clouds of bitterness and misunderstanding.

Shall the Army Take Over?

As a result of this drifting some new tendencies of development are showing themselves which threaten new complications of the central problem without any solution. One of these is the tendency for the Army more and more to move in and take charge of the whole production problem. This tendency comes not only from the Army. It also comes from the civilian administration itself. When a representative of the Army comes around and raises hell about the lack of the fulfillment of a particular production program, the first tendency of the civilian is to throw up his hands and say, "Well, damn it, if you can do any better, take it over." And one thing I'll say for the Army—they do take it over.

This tendency was already foreseen and warned against in 1931 by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch in the memorandum that I have mentioned before. Mr. Baruch warned eleven years ago: "We must neither militarize industry nor industrialize the army. The job of the War Department is our armed forces. That is a big job. To pile on top of it the task of economic mobilization would insure the failure of both." With this judgment of Mr. Baruch I most emphatically agree, not from any prejudice against the Army nor any lack of appreciation of how production problems press upon the Army. The central administration of economy for which I am arguing has nothing in common with the militarization of industry. Nothing could be more certain to make it difficult to establish this planned economy than for the Army to move into the center of the production problem. The military mind is incapable of solving this problem, foreign to its training and experience, and can only make confusion worse confounded because the military mind will be obsessed with the single problem of war material in the narrower sense. But the problem of administrative control of the national economy is precisely *to bring a working relation* between the necessary phases of civilian economy, even in wartime, and the necessities of war production. The one feature of the military mind which gives it an advantage over the industrialist is that it is sometimes contemptu-

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ous of the old economic theories. But, as a European statesman once said, "War is too serious a business to be left to military men."

No War Against Management

One of the favored arguments against a central economic administration is: Where would the Government find better managers than those now running our plants? The answer to that question that I would give is that we don't need to find any other managers than those now running our plants. If we simply give the present managers a full assignment of work and see that they do it, with the help of the labor and management production committees, they will be happier and war production will gain by it. There is no necessary connection between this plan and the removal of a single plant manager in the whole U.S. economy. Of course, we could dispense with 100,000 or so functionaries in Washington now milling around the economic problem, once we have a few hundred men with a plan and with the authority to put it through, to set up a strong leadership for the administration of the economy of the country for its production tasks, with the power of allocating men and materials to every existing production manager who shows a willingness to carry out the tasks; that's all we need.

The nation hoped not long ago that Mr. Nelson was going to do it, but Mr. Nelson was not given such a directive and we cannot blame him if, having changed one man for another but not having changed the system of work, we come to disappointment.

It is useless to indulge in hectic recriminations against industrialists and managers of production because our problem is unsolved, and I for one am not going to be involved in the heckling of capitalists and their managers on the production problem until we have a sensible, simple plan of overall administration of the American economy, when we can judge these men as to whether they really work to put it into effect or whether they are sabotaging it.

Today no one can have any standard of judgment on such questions because the plan is not there. And the big task for the organization of the American economy for the war and for victory is the establishment of that central administration of economy under planned control and armed with the full power of government to carry that plan through.

Labor in a War Economy

The disappearance of the pre-war market relationships, the obsolescence of "business as usual" in a war economy, and the urgency of the need for uninterrupted production, require also the development of new methods of regulating the conditions of labor. The Nazi-fascist method of meeting this need is the enslavement of labor, the destruction of all independent organizations of labor and the people, the imposition of a terroristic dictatorship. The democratic method is one of drawing labor into the government and all war agencies; it is one of taking labor into joint responsibility for production, the settlement of disputed questions through conciliation and arbitration, the maintenance and extension of labor's right

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to organize and bargain collectively, and the voluntary suspension by labor of the exercise of its right to strike.

The development of the democratic method of fitting labor into the war economy has been surprisingly successful and complete from the side of labor's voluntary cooperation in carrying through the government's war policy, insofar as that policy has been developed. It has not been so successful in substituting new institutions for regulating labor conditions, nor in utilizing labor's representatives in formulating and administering policy. The consequence is that labor's contribution has been only partly fruitful, labor being, by and large, denied the opportunity for developing a constructive role in hammering out the forms of the new economic set-up. This is a great weakness, considering the question entirely from the viewpoint of maximum production. Here again we are falling between two stools, adopting neither the Nazi nor the democratic way in full, but trying to muddle along with something in between.

Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, unquestionably put his finger on the key question of war economy when he proposed more adequate representation for labor in the W.P.B. and government, and the establishment of a system of production councils in which labor, management and the government would jointly work out the complicated problems of building a new structure of war economy. His proposal has been accepted "in principle," which is a polite way of saying that it is being neglected in practice.

An economic system is essentially a system of *labor* relationships in the process of production. Most of our economic difficulties arise from inability to grasp this truth and the consequences which flow from it. The working class was looked upon as "receiving jobs" in serving the economy, being outside the economic system except and until it was called in by capital or "management." Dollars, money, capital were the decisive factors, and the increment of money in profits, interest and rent was the energizing principle, while labor was a sort of unfortunate inconvenience, a sort of parasite, tending to intrude its "unjust" claims more and more upon the vital heart of the system which had always to be "protected" against labor. This whole system of thought has been second nature for American industrialists and a foundation of their economic education, something taken for granted like the air they breathed, a "natural law" which was never questioned. It is these forms of thought, not incompatible with the successful daily operation of industry in an earlier stage of capitalist development, which collapse so pitifully when they are used as the instrument for reconstructing our economy for the tasks of war.

Herbert Hoover, in his recent proposal of Nazi economics for the United Sates, was giving expression to this traditional school of economic thought in the present stage when, recognizing its inadequacy for the war tasks, he took up as an "emergency measure" the Nazi

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system of war economy based upon enslavement of labor. That was what Mr. Hoover meant when he proposed that Mr. Roosevelt should be given greater powers to institute "Nazi economics" for this country for the duration of the war. The Administration in Washingon has rejected Mr. Hoover's tendency, which, however, dominates the thinking of the majority in Congress. But the Administration has by no means developed a consistent and rounded concept of the war economy which it is trying to build; it continues to try to operate with the old traditional concepts; and it is consequently at a disadvantage in countering the attacks of the Herbert Hoovers and Howard Smiths who demand "new methods" tending in the Nazi direction. And it will be at a disadvantage in this struggle until it hammers out a coherent idea of new methods of its own. This can only be done by approaching the whole economy as a problem of the distribution and organization of labor, bringing trade union men, labor's own selected representatives, effectively into its administration, completely subordinating the usual peacetime formulae of capital, costs, profits, prices, market relationships, supply-and-demand, etc., etc.

Is Such a War Economy "Socialism"?

At this point I can almost hear the voices of our traditional economists as they exclaim: "Aha, just as I expected, Browder is trying to slip over a program of socialism disguised as a war economy!"

The fact is, however, that I have not the slightest expectation of being able to "slip over" anything at any time. My understanding of history and its material basis leads me to the profound belief that changes in economic structures can never be "slipped over" by "clever" men, that they are always the product of stern necessity which imposes the change; but in great emergencies they usually are changes accomplished by conscious will in meeting necessity. Ideology plays quite a subordinate role, the changes spring not from preconceived ideas, but rather have to impose themselves against the resistance of preconceived ideas.

These changes which my argument poses as a need of our war economy are not socialist, and do not result in a socialist system of economy. The war economy under central administration, the outlines of which I am trying to bring forth, would be a capitalist economy, in fact the highest development of capitalism. To those who protest that it is state capitalism, the answer is that state capitalism is but a synonym for *capitalism adjusted to the requirements of all-out war.*

Furthermore, the present argument does not even consider the question whether such centralized national economy (or whatever one prefers to call it) is desirable or undesirable in itself aside from the needs of war. My sole argument is that victory calls for certain preconditions, which we must discover with our undersanding and create with our joint action, as a nation. Every proposition relies for its validity on its being necessary for

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victory, or most conducive to victory, and if that is established, my argument stands on its own feet regardless of what labels may be put on it; if I fail in establishing the war necessity, the argument falls, equally regardless of labels.

My argument for a fully centralized national administration of economy has the same validity, in this light, whether it is called state capitalism or whether shallow opponents of all-out war call it socialism. I object to calling it socialism because it is not socialism. But whatever it is, it is a necessity of the war.

Waste as the Result of Unplanned Thrift

Now let us take a concrete example of a simple production problem as it is being handled today, and compare this with how the problem would be handled under a centralized administration which was thinking in terms of the most advantageous use of available labor and machinery.

The Army is in need of some millions of uniforms. Contracts are being let to the lowest bidder, of whom the only requirement is that he be "financially responsible," that is, he is the possessor of money. We find, as a matter of fact, that these contracts have not put to work the already available and organized men and machines, now standing idle, ready and willing to do this work. The contracts have gone to men who, on the basis of receiving contracts, are building an entirely new garment industry from the bottom up, creating plants, installing machinery, training workers—all of which could have been more usefully turned to other purposes. The result is a financial "saving" of ten cents per uniform, which is offset by the economic loss of a whole industry left idle, the diversion of men, material and machines quite unnecessarily, the holding up of production while new plants are being built, and severe social and economic dislocations, strain and shocks. Clearly, all this is stupid and uneconomical; but it is the inevitable product of the present lack of system.

If we were operating with a centralized national administration of economy, the requirements of the Army for clothing (as of everything else) would be automatically allocated to the already existing and organized plants and labor supply which could, with the least disturbance to the rest of the national economy, perform that task. New labor would not be withdrawn from other fields and trained for any task unless the supply of already-trained labor was in a way of being exhausted; new machines would not be allocated to any industry, until the machines already there had been fully engaged.

There is no lack of information about these factors, there is no technical difficulty in the way, there is no reason whatever that this could not be done—except that our minds are fixed in a different direction, and our actions automatically follow that old fixed pattern, even when the results are obviously irrational and stupid. We obtain these irrational results because we are thinking and acting still in terms of market relationships that have

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been blown sky high by the war and which do not and cannot exist while the war is on. We fail to obtain the obviously possible rational results, because we are unable to think of economics as the most economical distribution and organization of labor, and the deliberate agreement of management, the labor unions and government to that end, but instead think of it in terms of prices, money, capital, profits, costs, and a thousand other subsidiary factors which hide the all-decisive factor of labor and the full use of existing plants.

Revising Some Economic Traditions

In a centralized war economy, prices lose their former significance as a registration of market relationships and become a convenience of bookkeeping and accounting; prices must be fixed, because in the absence of a free market their fluctuations would create unnecessary frictions, the changes would be arbitrary, and any general administrative control would become impossible.

In a centralized war economy, profits lose their former significance as a source of unlimited personal consumption and as the basis for the unrestricted accumulation of private capital, because in one form or another the government controls all goods currently produced and rations them both in the realm of personal consumption and in industrial production to where they are most needed, regardless of the claims of money. The logic of war economy is that the government appropriates the use of all profits for the duration of the war, except only such a residue as may be decided upon as a government "ration" to the idle classes; that is the economic significance of President Roosevelt's famous proposal to limit personal incomes to $25,000 per year. From the point of view of the war economy alone, it matters not at all whether the government takes control of these profits through taxation or takes them in exchange for government bonds.

In a centralized war economy, although private ownership remains intact, private capital loses its significance as the precondition to production. Already, before we have a centralized war economy, we witness the almost complete cessation of private investment of capital to meet current production needs. Capital accumulation and its distribution to productive needs, while not yet being planned by the government, are already being carried out by the government. It will be absolutely necessary to subordinate this process to a government plan.

In a centralized war economy, the costs of production will play a role only in controlling the efficiency of operation of each producing unit, and will not be allowed in any but extreme cases to determine whether production should be carried on or not—because the needs of war must be supplied at any cost. The rule will be that all productive units must be used to the full, that an idle productive unit is the supreme economic crime, the only "cost" that is prohibitive.

In a centralized war economy, wages tend to lose their significance

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as a market relationship. Wages must be understood in their economic sense as the allocation and guarantee of the fullest needs of food, clothing and shelter (with such social services as may be available) to the prime mover of production, the human working force in the economy, to ensure its capacity for continuous maximum production and reproduction. Thus, the relative "justice" of the claims of capital and labor in the division of the proceeds of the economy is entirely irrelevant; the capitalist is allowed his $25,000 per year, not because there is any "justice" in it, and even less because he has any economic "use" in the war economy, but purely as a matter of public policy to keep him from becoming so discontented that he loses his patriotism and sabotages the war. The worker, on the other hand, receives wages entirely upon the basis of his usefulness in production. The socially-agreed necessities for continuous performance and replacement can and will obviously be determined only with the full and free cooperation of the organizations of the largest numbers of human beings interested most directly—the trade unions. This wage will further be subject to and protected as *real* wages by the *rationing of consumption*. The tendency is for wage income above the nationally established ration scale to have little significance except that of savings, and either automatically or voluntarily to go into government bonds, and thereby back into the war effort. The trend in the trade unions, where the understanding of the nature of this war as a people's war has crystallized the firmest rock foundation of patriotism, is not in the least out of accord with this development.

In such a centralized war economy, the problem of inflation can be completely conquered. Instead of inflation, the problem would become that of eliminating all "black-market" operations and other criminal violations of the law-enforced necessities of the war.

Complete Administration Requires Fewer Administrators

It will be objected that a central administration of economy such as here outlined would require an enormous governmental apparatus to control it. That objection is entirely unfounded. It would require fewer governmental agencies and smaller personnel than we now have spreading from Washington over the country and imposing themselves upon the productive establishments without guiding or administering them. Much of the present governmental apparatus for dealing with these questions would quickly be shown up as entirely useless, and could be disbanded and distributed to useful war work. A central administration which knew what its tasks were, and had the full war power of the government behind it, modeled on the most efficient trusts and cartels, could quickly bring into existence a system of control that would require but a fraction of the number of men and women today engaged in the hopeless task of trying to improvise war economy without a plan, without a national centralized administration.

In a centralized war economy

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there is no necessity for the government to "take over" the plants except to the degree that Congress has already provided for in the Federal statute authorizing plant seizures when such steps are made necessary by resistance to public policy by the present individual owners, and by their possible sabotage of the economic regulations. Otherwise, all existing relationships of ownership and management can very well be left exactly as they are today. They may be "frozen" for the duration. The rule may be laid down that every change made in these relationships must be shown in each separate case to be a necessity of the maximum war production.

Nothing less than such a rounded-out program as we have outlined here is an all-out war economy. Nothing less than this will give maximum war production, which is so essential for victory. Nothing less than this will bring any certainty of victory.

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THE STALIN-CHURCHILL MEETING AND AFTER

IT IS reported from the Soviet Union that the Nazi Luftwaffe dropped leaflets over Red Army lines which gloatingly assert that the Allies have no intention of opening a military front against Hitler Germany in the West. Though in shame it must be said, it is an undeniable fact that the Mannerheim Finns, the darlings of our State Department, have given more direct military aid to German fascism in the fight against the Soviet Union than the United States and England together have given the Soviet Union up to now, in common fighting action.

Despite this fact, the Nazi propaganda will naturally have no success with the uncompromising anti-fascist fighters, the politically-schooled Red soldiers. The conclusion that the Red Army Men will draw from the lack of concentrated military action will undoubtedly be to fight even—if that is possible—more bravely, more heroically, more tenaciously. They know they are fighting for their Socialist fatherland and democracy and for the liberty of all peoples, including America.

But we can very well imagine the feelings of the Red soldiers, if we for a moment picture ourselves in the position of the Red Army and them in the position of England and the United States. We can understand the feelings of the Soviet people when they see that the military collaboration of the fascist bandits up to now has been more effective than the fighting solidarity of the liberty-loving peoples. We can well imagine that they cannot understand how it is that, in this fateful phase of the war, England and the United States are still not using their tremendous military and economic power in a decisive way to help break Hitler's backbone. Nor does one have to be a Russian in order to feel this bewildering concern.

A feeling of bitterness and shame moves us, as it moves all peoples who want to see Hitler destroyed, because all peoples not corrupted by fascism have an elementary feeling of loyalty toward a friend who has done and is continuing to do so much for all freedom-loving nations through his battles. This loyalty is strengthened by the growing understanding that our national interests demand immediate, concentrated military action against Hitler.

In an unguarded moment, in a moment, perhaps, of irritation, Mrs. Roosevelt might give a hasty and rebuffing answer to repeated questions put to her by girl students at

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Hunter College in regard to the opening of a Second Front. She would, however, think twice, no doubt, before giving such an answer to the soldiers of the Red Army, to the Jews in the ghettoes of Europe, to the Poles, the Czechs, the Yugoslavs and the Frenchmen, to the hundreds of millions of enslaved and starving Europeans. She would consider her answer carefully if she stood before millions of American and English workers who are asking the same question. She would hesitate to give such an answer, if instead of the girls of Hunter College the girl from Sevastopol—a student of a Soviet college, the honored guest of our country—would put to her the question: "What has happened to the Anglo-American pledges concerning the urgency of creating the Second Front in Europe?"

* * *

What is happening to the Second Front? That is the question which all liberty-loving people are asking more urgently than ever on the occasion of the recent Stalin-Churchill meeting. That is the question whose positive answer Hitler is awaiting fearfully.

When Chamberlain, the British prototype of Herbert Hoover, flew to Godesburg and Munich, every Communist, every far-sighted anti-fascist, knew that this would mean the hastening of the advent of war. It would be advisable, particularly at this time, to re-read the Communist literature of those days, the better to estimate the value of Communist warnings and advice rather than be taught by the harsh school of a new catastrophe.

When it became known that Churchill had flown to Moscow in August for a conference with Stalin, the first British Prime Minister ever to have visited the Soviet Union, a feeling of relief swept through the ranks of the Allied nations.

Chamberlain and Munich—that meant moral bankruptcy, war, defeat, sale of the nations for thirty pieces of silver, the triumph of Hitler.

The meeting of Churchill and Stalin finally promoted the opposite result—it advanced the creation of the military prerequisites of victory over Hitler, through preparing immediate joint military action of the Allies.

However, only the next developments will reveal the full importance of Churchill's flight to Moscow. Only the speed and fullness with which English and American forces will be employed can give the final answer to this question.

Part of the tremendous importance, however, of this meeting between Churchill and Stalin is already unmistakably clear today. The alliance and the friendship between the Soviet Union and England and the collaboration between these two Powers, as well as with our country, are further strengthened. We can better appreciate the far-reaching importance of the strengthening of bonds of friendship between these two great Powers if we remind ourselves that the attitude of former British governments, shared by many in the governmental circles of our own

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country, is responsible for the situation in which we find ourselves today.

For the Nazis, who have under no circumstances given up the hope of driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and her Allies, Churchill's visit to Moscow is undoubtedly a great setback. Nazi propaganda will never admit it, of course; but Hitler's thoughts must surely have wandered to the happy days of Munich when he found in a British Prime Minister a partner in crime. The expected "peace offensive" of the Nazis will have less chance of success than ever in the light of the joint declaration of the leaders of the two Powers. "In this just war of liberation both governments are determined to carry on with all power and energy until the complete destruction of Hitlerism and any similar tyranny has been achieved."

This declaration, undoubtedly, was also a heavy blow to the English and American Cliveden Set, one of whose spokesman, Lady Astor, even during Churchill's stay in Moscow, made an open and infamous attack on the Soviet Union. Regretfully it must be said that many of our own Clivedeners, so-called "prominent persons," are still permitted to advance these foul purposes in word and action.

There can be no doubt that Churchill's visit to Moscow has strengthened the practical collaboration between the Soviet Union, England and the United States. The presence, at the conference, of leading British and Soviet generals indicates that important military decisions have been reached. The presence of W. Averell Harriman as President Roosevelt's personal representative undoubtedly indicates the closest coordination of the plans of our own government with the decisions reached there.

* * *

There are those who meet the persisting demand for a Second Front *now,* even after this meeting, with such arguments as: "Why all this clamoring? Can we not assume with certainty that if two such men as Stalin and Churchill meet, everything necessary has been decided with the full agreement of our government?"

We sincerely hope that everything necessary to beat Hitler has been decided at the Stalin-Churchill conference. But even so, *we cannot afford to relax for one moment the relentless pressure for the opening of the Second Front without further delay.* In this struggle we find ourselves in the company of the best representatives of every class and nation, who, even after Churchill's visit to Moscow, have not ceased their public urging for the immediate opening of a Second Front with the strongest efforts at their command. Did we not witness the same attempt to lull the growing demand for a Second Front dur- Molotov's stay in Washington when, as a result of his visit, the statement made public by the White House announced that "full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent task of creating a Second Front in Europe in 1942"?

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During this period, our ally, the Soviet Union, has never leveled a word of criticism against the past failure and present slowness and hesitation to establish the Second Front. It has never even declared, as have so many well-meaning fools, that a Second Front must be established—to "keep the Russians in the fight"! The Soviet Union has left no doubts, however, that Hitler could have been defeated in 1942, can still be speedily crushed, through the strategy of a two-front war. Naturally, Soviet leaders cannot force either the United States or England to open a Second Front. As they patiently fought for collective security, so they now can only try to convince their Allies that the establishment of a Second Front is not only of specific aid to the Soviet Union but *the strategy of victory over Hitler and the Axis for all the United Nations.*

Be this as it may, we Americans can no longer afford to be blind to the new perils which jeopardize the United States if Stalingrad and the Caucasus fall, if the opening of the Western Front is postponed again. We should convince ourselves of the necessity of opening a Second Front with the same arguments that are being employed in the strongest form by the labor movement and thousands of prominent people in our own country and England: that is, that the absence of a Second Front endangers the national security and survival of the U.S.A. and all its allies; it places the strategic advantages on the side of Hitler and the Axis, and carries with it the most dangerous consequences in the development and outcome of the war for our country and England. This time labor and the entire people, and especially their leaders, must act more effectively than they did at the time of the discussion of collective security.

Whether Churchill has accepted the arguments for a speedy establishment of a Second Front (arguments which he could have heard as well in England), and whether he was ready in Moscow to draw the practical conclusions—these things we naturally do not know, and speculation is of no value. We *do* know, however, that there are only three months left until 1943. We do know that Hitler's powerful attacks against the Caucasus and South Russia are weakening the position of the Soviet Union for a coordinated offensive, and bring great danger nearer to the Middle East and Britain. We do know that the possibility of an attack by Japan against the Soviet Union and India does exist, and is being encouraged by the delay in launching the Second Front in Europe, and we especially know that enemies of friendship with the Soviet Union are in decisive positions in our country and in Great Britain wielding their destructive influences.

We are therefore of the opinion that to *organize* the national will and overwhelming sentiment of the British and American people for the Second Front now, *even after the meeting of Stalin and Churchill,* is in the interests of a correct war policy, and of victory. It is unthinkable for anyone to say that it will harm the morale of the Ameri-

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can and British people if more and more millions will declare: "We know that the Second Front will mean great sacrifices of men and matériel. We know it is no child's play. But we are ready to shoulder these sacrifices and to spare no effort to establish and sustain the Second Front, because this is necessary for our national safety and future, this is necessary to destroy Hitler and the Axis, to bring the war to a victorious end. We therefore demand that our leaders give the order to advance. Wipe out all saboteurs, all fifth columnists, eliminate from the leadership of the war all the defeatists and appeasers, all the incompetents and obstructionists! Away with hesitation and delay!"

If Churchill, together with Stalin (and undoubtedly with the agreement of our own government), decided on the establishment of a Second Front, then he as well as our own government should welcome wholeheartedly the people's bold answer to the Nazi propaganda, to the clamor of the defeatists, which seeks to frighten them with the terrific cost of opening a Second Front.

If Churchill, due to pressure of certain Munichite circles in England, hesitated in making a binding Second Front agreement, for a major, large-scale invasion of Europe, now, before it is too late, then he can only welcome the determined will of the people which will help him overcome the resistance of those circles.

But one thing is crystal clear: The Stalin-Churchill meeting has given the people new hope. The meetings of the leaders of the Allied Nations are historic landmarks in the development of the growing friendship and cooperation of their peoples and the anti-Hitler coalition. This friendship can only develop fully and result in victory if all the Allies speedily and resolutely take up the fight against the main enemy in coordinated action. This is best expressed in the statement of *Izvestia* after Churchill's visit to Moscow:

"The mutual understanding between the Soviet and English peoples will continue to be strengthened *in proportion to the growing power and energy with which all the Allied countries will wage the just liberation war against Hitlerite Germany.* Beyond a question, the Moscow negotiations will play a leading role in this.

"The decision arrived at during the negotiations between Stalin and Churchill cover the field of war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe. Hence this war will be carried on by all the forces of the Allied countries with all their power and energy. *Herein lies the great historical significance of the Moscow negotiations for the common cause of the United Nations.*" (Emphasis ours.)

And what is happening to the Second Front now that the President in his fireside chat on Labor Day and the Prime Minister in his address to Parliament have renewed their pledges to take the offensive to the Nazi enemy, to speed the invasion of Europe? There is no doubt that an answer to this vital question is being sought in the speeches of

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our President and of Prime Minister Churchill by the millions of Americans and Britons, by the millions in Europe who, at peril of life, are listening to these speeches on their radios. The political commissars who render political information to the Red soldiers on the Stalingrad and Caucasus fronts have without doubt used some of their free moments to explain these speeches to them.

Our President, in the part of his speech dealing with the general war situation, made three important remarks that will hearten everyone. First, the power of Hitlerite Germany must be broken by an offensive in Europe. Secondly, at a secret military conference in London in July important military decisions were made for this purpose. Thirdly, directly repudiating the detractors of the Soviet Union, he expressed his firm conviction in the determination of the Soviet Union to fight on under all conditions.

Roosevelt was not silent on the difficulty of the task of beating the Axis. But he stated that we have the means of victory in our hands if the Allies use all their manpower and their matériel.

Churchill, in his speech, confirmed the determination not to end the war before the enemy is absolutely beaten. He confirmed full agreement and coordination of action with our Government. And, too, he expressed his firm belief in the determination and ability of the Soviet people and their leader, Stalin, to fight on, whatever the conditions may be.

Both speeches are a tremendous encouragement for all peoples fighting for freedom.

But in both speeches certain questions were left unanswered—questions that people are asking everywhere: How soon and with what strength will we strike at the Nazi monster? Will we attack Hitler in time to defend ourselves by preventing the fall of Stalingrad and the Caucasus? Will we launch an all-out offensive or only a limited diversional operation?

In July there was a secret military conference in London. That conference was all to the good. It was an important step further in strengthening the military alliance of the Allied Powers. But from the speeches of Roosevelt and Churchill it is clear that it was a conference without military representatives of the Red Army. The dictates of the fullest fighting alliance of the United Nations, under a unified military command, render necessary the participation of Soviet military representatives at such important sessions as that held in London in July. If this conference had discussed, among other problems, the subject of the military preparation of a Second Front, how could it be that the representatives of the first front, the Red Army, were not present? Why could not Roosevelt and Churchill, in their speeches, have made the same declaration regarding the U.S.S.R. that they made in regard to the relations between England and the United States? Why could they not have stated what everyone who wants to defeat the Axis wants to hear, namely, that between the United

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States, England, and the Soviet Union there exists complete unanimity of views on war strategy?

And what shall we understand by the remark of Churchill that "it was difficult to make the Russians comprehend the difficulties of ocean transport"? We are now in late September. Does this mean that the task of a Second Front shall be left to nature for the time being? Does this mean again to speculate on the forces of nature instead of on the forces of the Allies of the Soviet Union?

What does it mean when Churchill says that the leaders of the Soviet Union do not fully understand the sea transport question? We know that all the procrastinators and hesitators, as well as the enemies of a Second Front, are using this false and damaging argument.

Only an agent of the Axis will ask that Roosevelt or Churchill give away military secrets. But the need is immensely great for a clear and simple statement from the British and American leaders such as: "We and the Russians are in complete agreement on the question of a Second Front." And then, "We are now engaged in common fighting action in Europe against the heart of the Axis enemy, Nazi Germany!" Such a statement would strengthen and stiffen the countless people who are wondering what weaknesses, what dangerous influences are restraining us from taking up the task of destroying Hitler by the timely and combined military action of all the United Nations.

The people listen more than ever to the speeches of their leaders. But they compare them too, more than ever, with their deeds. *Labor and all other patriotic Americans are ready to follow words that are orders for action.*

And who can doubt that we shall have to pay terribly if Stalingrad and the Caucasus are lost?

It is high time to have done for the duration with the words of disaster: "Too little and too late!" It is high time for using the strategy for victory, for creating the Second Front, for launching a major Anglo-American military offensive against Hitler in the West!

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THREE YEARS OF WAR

THREE years ago the roar of guns and explosions of air bombs heralded the beginning of the war in Europe. This war was prepared, provoked and begun by Hitlerite Germany.

For many years the German imperialist robbers sharpened the knife to stab the heart of mankind. It placed the Hitlerite gang of cutthroats in power and commissioned it to prepare and unleash the war. The Hitlerites created a war machine well armed with automatic weapons, tanks and planes. By their poisonous, cannibalistic propaganda and their criminal practice of wild terror, violence and arbitrariness, the Hitlerites morally ravaged and spiritually corrupted the German youth.

Hitlerism plunged mankind into a gulf of the most bloody and devastating war for the sake of greedy, mercenary interests of the German plutocrats and Junkers, whose watchdogs the Hitlerites are. History knows of no more predatory robber war than the one being waged by Germany. Its object is to subjugate Europe and then the whole world, to subordinate all nations to the German "race of masters," destroy their statehood and culture, to plunder their property, to exterminate a considerable part of the population of the subjugated countries and to turn the rest into the slaves and serfs of the German landlords and plutocrats.

In these past three years of war the nations of Europe have felt on their own backs the inhuman methods of warfare resorted to by the "superior race," the full horror of the German fascist occupation regime which Hitler hirelings mockingly call the "New Order in Europe."

The Hitlerite cannibals have reduced a number of flourishing states of Europe to ruins; starvation has become the lot of tens of millions of people. The occupationists have destroyed the statehood of captured countries, plundered supplies of raw materials and ready-made products, laid their hands on factories, plants and banks, and completely undermined the economic foundations of these nations.

They have drowned in blood and trampled underfoot the national dignity of enslaved nations. The gallows and the executioner's axe have taken the place of the human rights won by the working masses at the price of precious sacrifices in tens of years of stubborn struggle.

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The German landlords are occupying land covered with the sweat and blood of the European peoples. Millions of people have been torn away from their native land and thrown into the mines, factories and plants of the German magnates of the coal, iron, armaments and chemical industries. They have been turned into mute, disfranchised slaves. The peasants have been turned into serfs at the mercy of their new German landlords.

But the nations of Europe refuse to reconcile themselves to the lot which the German slave owners have meted out to them. The struggle against the monstrous "New Order in Europe" continues uninterruptedly.

Hitler's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union for the first time placed the German army face to face with a force capable of offering it real resistance. The iron determination of the Soviet people upset a number of Hitler's strategic plans. The self-sacrificing struggle of the Soviet people has evoked the admiration of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world; it has infused a bright ray of hope into the hearts of millions and tens of millions of people languishing under the yoke of the German fascist scoundrels.

The war has taught the European nations a great deal. Many an illusion and prejudice have been burned in the flames of the war. The myth that the bloody aggressor can be softened by concessions, that he can be stopped by words, has been exposed. In their own bitter experience the nations of Europe have convinced themselves that the Hitlerites understand but one language—the language of the bayonet, the bullet and the hand grenade; shells and air bombs are the most persuasive arguments for them.

The freedom-loving peoples have convinced themselves that the only way of getting rid of Hitlerism is by destroying it, that people cannot live freely on the earth so long as the air is poisoned by the foul breath of the Hitlerite two-legged beasts.

The titanic world historical role of the Soviet Union has unfolded itself in its full grandeur before freedom-loving mankind. It still shoulders the brunt of the struggle against mankind's enemy.

The peoples of Europe realize their obligation to the noble struggle of the Soviet Union. Without the Soviet Union the peoples of Europe now enslaved by Hitler would have had no hopes of speedy liberation, and the Hitlerites would have been able for tens of years to hurl the European nations into the dungeons of a regime of slavery and serfdom.

Toward the close of the third year of the war in Europe, Hitler is straining all his forces, he has thrown all his reserves into action, he has risked stripping the Atlantic coast to score a success on the main front of the war—on the Soviet-German front. Today as never before it is important to upset his plans, to frustrate his calculations.

The Soviet people know this as well as the freedom-loving peoples

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the world over. This is also known to the peoples of Great Britain and the U. S. A. who are insisting on more active operations in the struggle against Hitler Germany. Today more than ever before it is important to bring into action all the forces and means of the peoples participating in the struggle against the common enemy. It must not be forgotten that to speed the rout of Hitlerism is to reduce considerably the cost of the struggle to achieve victory with the least losses.

(Pravda.)

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LESSONS OF THE PRIMARY ELECTIONS

BY RALPH V. BARNES

THE campaign for a win-the-war victory in the November elections has become an integral part of the nation's war effort. It has become just as vital a part of our life-and-death struggle against the Axis as the military and economic mobilization of our country. Under the circumstances it could not very well be otherwise. Unfortunately, many decisive forces in our national unity failed to grasp this truth in time to affect seriously the course and outcome of the primaries. The result was unsatisfactory in many primaries, as well as a number of substantial political setbacks for national unity and for the war effort. Outstanding among these are: Fish and Barry of New York, Smith of Virginia, Brooks of Illinois, Dies of Texas, who was unopposed in the primaries; and, more broadly speaking, the unsatisfactory trend of the primaries in Pennsylvania, New York, and many other States. The task is to eliminate boldly and promptly the serious weaknesses in the camp of national unity revealed in the primaries, and to proceed *to a united struggle* for winning the elections in November.

What weaknesses have the primaries revealed? First and foremost, the primaries have revealed that hesitation and indecision in the conduct of the war play inevitably into the hands of the defeatists and appeasers. The leadership of our national unity—Democrats, Republicans and Labor—have not sufficiently understood the importance of this fact. Now, this must be faced squarely and all conclusions must be drawn from it. We need not be afraid of temporary military reverses and even defeats. These will only steel our people to greater unity, self-sacrifice and determination to win, whatever the cost. But we should be afraid of the military and internal political consequences of protracted delays, waverings and hesitations in the conduct of the war, in opening the Western Front. These tend to undermine the morale of the people. They create moods of political passivity and indifference. They create the soil which is ideally suited for the demoralizing and treasonable activities of the defeatists and appeasers, of the Hoovers, Tafts and Fishes, of the Farleys, Wheelers, and Dieses.

It can be stated with the greatest degree of confidence that the primaries would have resulted in an unqualified victory for our national unity, if during the summer months

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our country had been engaged in military struggle against the Nazis on the European continent—if we had had a Second Front. From this the conclusion is inescapable. A decisive line in the conduct of the war, free from all hesitation and delay, is a vital need for our national unity, for promoting victory in the November elections, for securing victory in the war against the Axis. And let us emphasize that national unity itself is the foremost requirement for victory in the war —a foremost military requirement.

Had these considerations been uppermost in the minds of the leadership of our national unity, the character of the struggle in the primaries would have been altogether different in most cases. The issue would have been what it inherently is — National Unity for Victory! Everything to win the war and to destroy Nazism-fascism! — instead of the confusing and meaningless formula of "pre-Pearl Harbor isolationism," a formula that served to hide quite successfully the defeatism and appeasement of many a candidate. With the real issue clearly before the masses of the people, many other positive developments would have taken place. There would have been no "light vote" reported from most primaries, but a real mass outpouring to participate in the elections, thus reducing to a minimum the influence of machine politicians and of so-called "local issues." Furthermore, with the issue of winning the war dominant in the campaign, of uniting all win-the-war forces to take the offensive against Hitler in Europe and against the Fifth Column and the defeatists at home, the immediate practical tasks for prosecuting the war would inevitably have come to the forefront, compelling all candidates to take definite positions on specific and concrete win-the-war measures, instead of allowing many a defeatist and appeaser to slip by with hypocritical lip-service to the war effort "in general."

Above all, politics as usual and narrow partisanship could have been reduced to very small proportions, if National Unity to win the war had been established as dominant in the primary elections. Where the practical issues of winning the war were not dominant—an offensive strategy, the immediate opening of the Second Front, complete economic war mobilization with full labor partnership, the President's seven-point economic program, defeat of the defeatists and appeasers, further strengthening of our alliance with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, etc.—where these burning issues were not dominant in the primaries, there politics as usual inevitably took precedence and determined the outcome. This was the case in many instances, if not most.

But politics as usual and narrow partisanship are not the harmless and innocent things that many people thought they were. Many political leaders in the national unity apparently worked on the supposition that politics as usual, if left unchallenged, would automatically contribute to the victory of the win-the-war forces. This was a serious mistake, and the outcome of the

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primary elections has already supplied the proof. Politics as usual and traditional narrow partisanship in the present situation work directly contrary to national unity. They work directly into the hands of the defeatists and appeasers. Still worse: politics as usual and narrow partisanship show a distinct tendency to fall under the influence of the defeatists, to become combined with the defeatists, *to become allies to defeatism*. Hooverism among the Republicans and Farleyism among the Democrats are the most outstanding (and menacing) examples of this "natural" combination of politics as usual with defeatism and appeasement. The victory of Dewey and Bennett in the State conventions of these two parties in New York is the victory of this combination.

It has to be admitted that the leadership itself, in our national unity, has not altogether freed itself of certain methods and attitudes of politics as usual. This and this alone can explain the fact that neither President Roosevelt nor Wendell Willkie has done all that had to be done (and could have been done) to discourage more effectively politics as usual in their respective parties. Nor have they carried on in their parties and in the country generally an *effective and consistent* fight (for they did carry on a fight) against the defeatists and appeasers—a fight that would definitely *isolate and rout* these elements in the Democratic and Republican parties. Nor did they demonstrate in their mutual relationships a compelling enough example of close collaboration and national unity to affect materially the political situation in the country.

The result of these weaknesses is now apparent to all. Whereas, among the masses of the people the prestige of President Roosevelt is at its highest peak and is continually rising (and this is even more pronounced among the Democratic Party voters), his leadership of the Democratic Party as an organization is, temporarily at least, weakening. Similarly with Wendell Willkie. All reports demonstrate that Willkie's standing in the country is rising, and the same is true with his position among the mass of the Republican voters. But his leadership in the Republican Party as an organization (a leadership which, by the way, has never been fully established) is meeting now with *increasing* difficulties.

This is a serious situation, to say the least. For ours is largely a government by parties. If the President's hold over his party should continue to weaken, that might result in the weakening of our country's government, since the President's party is the ruling party at the present time. And if, in addition, Willkie's influence in the Republican Party organization should also continue to decrease, the win-the-war forces in the two *major* parties would cease to be dominant in our nation's government, and our country's war effort would be definitely endangered. This, we believe, needs here no additional proof.

The facts stand before us that President Roosevelt's fight against the Dieses, Reynoldses and Farleys, as well as Willkie's fight against

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the Fishes, Hoovers and Deweys, was not effective enough to produce results favorable to the war effort. The facts also indicate that both President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie have too frequently shown too much of a readiness to make concessions to the narrow partisans in their respective parties, even where such concessions were contrary to the interests of national unity. This is seen best in the fact that these two leaders of our two major parties have still not found *the most effective form of collaboration* that would demonstrate the existing national unity *in the daily conduct of the war.*

The politicians as usual in both major parties have been firing away at such collaboration with all their might. They say that this would spell the death of our two-party system and introduce "totalitarianism." But this is sheer nonsense. Political collaboration in the conduct of the war between all our win-the-war forces of our people requires not the dissolution of existing parties but their coalition, their common action. Such a political coalition and unity of action for winning the war has to be created precisely because we have several parties, not one; and only such a coalition can complete and make fully effective our national unity for victory in the war. This will not affect in the least the existing party system and relationships except to make that system work *for winning* the war instead of for obstructing the war, as it now does. And the only losers will be the defeatists, and also those narrow partisans who choose to become the allies of the defeatists. As to the masses of the people, they would greet with enthusiasm the efforts of Roosevelt and Willkie, together with labor, to create a political coalition of all the win-the-war forces, embracing business, labor, the farmers and the middle classes, and uniting the nation in the fullest sense for the daily conduct of the war through such a means as would clearly demonstrate the adequate representation in government, in the war agencies, or in the elections, of all patriotic forces.

It was precisely the absence of such a patriotic coalition and joint action that enabled the combination of politics as usual with defeatism to score the successes they did in the primaries of both major parties. Conversely, it was the presence of the beginnings of such coalition—only beginnings—that enabled the win-the-war forces to prevail in the primaries in all those cases where the patriotic elements were successful. Outstanding among these are: Marcantonio of New York; Feighan and McSweeney of Ohio; Coffee of Washington; Benson of Minnesota; Holland of Pennsylvania; and the New Deal Congressmen of California, Kenny and Patterson. This point is of tremendous importance. It shows that the candidates of National Unity for Victory were invariably successful wherever the central issues of winning the war were squarely put and wherever a measure of unity existed among the win-the-war forces. In other words, wherever the issue of the war was clearly placed and the idea of a

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patriotic coalition was given a chance, however slight, to produce results, the results were produced, such as in the nominations of Marcantonio, Feighan, Holland, Coffee, Kenny, McKeogh, Patterson, and a number of other win-the-war candidates.

Finally, it must also be said that the leaders of labor have not worked well enough, or unitedly enough, to impress the other parties in the National Unity with the vital need of following in the elections the policy of National Unity to win the war. Labor's own political position was good, on the whole, but it remained mostly on paper. First, because labor (the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods) did not work unitedly for its election policies on a national scale, and only in a few places locally, nor did it develop on a broad scale a policy of collaborating actively enough with the farmers, the Negro people, small business, and other patriotic forces. Secondly, because labor did not press sufficiently hard for making the immediate practical tasks of winning the war the main issues in the primaries. This is true particularly of the leadership of the A. F. of L.

In this connection, the following must be emphasized. Almost in all places, with few exceptions, where labor acted unitedly in the primaries on a practical program of winning the war, and displayed the necessary political and organizing initiative, a broad patriotic coalition became crystallized and emerged victorious in the primary elections. This was best to be seen in Minnesota, where the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods are part of the State Election Campaign Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party; in Ohio, in the defeat of Sweeney; in California, Washington, and Pennsylvania. Which proves once again the vital importance of labor's united action and of labor's initiative for cementing further national unity for victory against the Axis.

What Has To Be Done?

The task of the American people, and of labor especially, is to make sure that the November elections produce a Victory Congress, and that dependable win-the-war candidates are elected to all public offices. Of particular importance among these other offices are the Governorships of New York and California.

This is a practical task fully realizable. But it will not materialize by itself. In order to insure victory of the win-the-war forces in the elections, the following should be done:

1. United action of all win-the-war forces must be achieved in the shortest possible time. This calls for the establishment of "a broad unity of all forces behind an all-out war effort" (Browder). More specifically, this means the crystallization of the maximum cooperation and a patriotic national coalition of all parties, groups and classes around the government for the victorious prosecution of the war; for an offensive military strategy, for the immediate opening of the Second Front against Hitler in Europe; for the complete harnessing of our nation's economy

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to the war effort, fully *planned* and unified, for a centralized national war economy and administration, democratically administered by the government, management and labor; for the realization of the President's seven-point economic program, implemented with a universal rationing system; for the complete subordination of private gain and interest to the collective national task of winning the war; for the isolation and defeat of all defeatists and appeasers; for the further strengthening of our alliance with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China, and with all the other United Nations, including India; for the defense of India against Axis aggression and the establishment of a Provisional National Government representative of the Indian people and allied with all the United Nations; for full partnership of the Negro people in the national war effort; for a drastic policy of action against all divisive efforts of national and group incitements against the Jews, Catholics and Negroes; for complete national unity for the closest collaboration of all patriots, in the daily conduct of the war, for victory over Hitler and the Axis.

2. Unity around a single win-the-war candidate for each office regardless of party affiliation.

3. Concentration of all win-the-war forces on defeating at all costs the candidates of the Fifth Column, of defeatism and appeasement.

4. In cases where the candidates of both major parties are either outright defeatists or are dominated by the alliance between defeatism and politics as usual, the task of the patriotic coalition is to provide and insure an independent win-the-war campaign to develop independent political action. In such a situation as in New York special attention needs to be given to defeating the appeaser candidates on the ticket of the Democratic Party. This is dictated by the consideration that victory of defeatists in the Democratic Party will undermine the governing party of the country, thus directly weakening the government of the nation and the war effort itself. At this moment, Bennett in New York is more dangerous than Dewey, though both are the candidates of the alliance between defeatism and narrow partisanship. The reason for this is that the Bennett nomination "is a defeatist insurrection within the President's own party" (Browder), threatening most directly the stability of the national government. However, in many states, except for the South, most of the defeatist and obstructionist candidates are operating through the Republican Party of Taft and Vandenberg, Fish and Hoffman, Heil and Martin.

The defeat of all such candidates —of whatever party—is a major task. These are the elements that are expected by Hitler to pick up his rumored "peace offensive," either immediately before or soon after the elections, and to soften up the American people for surrender to the Nazis "in the style of Pétain and Laval" (Browder). Under no circumstances, therefore, must the menace of these elements be underestimated or the crucial task of defeating them ignored. Hence, the absolute need of an independent campaign and ticket by labor and all the win-the-war forces where

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this proves the only alternative to defeatism.

5. United and independent labor political action, nationally and locally, is one of the most important forces for the development and victory of the win-the-war camp. The leaders and membership of labor organizations have the task and duty to bring about in the shortest possible time, unity of labor's political action in the elections, and to strengthen labor's political influence and indepedent mass campaign. Labor is already united on the essentials of a political platform, even though there may still be disagreement on secondary matters. These can be easily composed on the basis of a win-the-war patriotic coalition. But energetic steps must be taken to bring this about; and time does not wait. A united labor leadership can and will exert a tremendous influence toward uniting all patriotic forces, for helping forge a united national coalition of all win-the-war forces around the government, for victory in the elections, for victorious prosecution of the war.

All signs point to the fact that this is what the American people desire and are willing to support. They want a united national coalition, around the government, that will firmly support and implement the nation's war policies, that will be able effectively to curb all politics as usual and will know how to isolate and defeat all appeasement and fifth columnism. The people want real anti-fascist national unity—a representative unity that will insure the most vigorous prosecution of the war, without hesitation and without wavering, through the immediate opening of the Second Front and in closest collaboration with our allies. Given such united national leadership in the elections, which they have lacked so far, the American people will demonstrate an anti-fascist national unity that will make it impossible for defeatists and appeasers to make any headway in the November elections. They will produce real Victory Elections.

The Communist Party has already made known its election policy. It will collaborate with and support the election of all win-the-war candidates. It will continue to do all in its power to help strengthen labor and national unity. It will strengthen its independent role and mass work and will develop its election campaign so as to help raise and clarify all vital issues of winning the war and of uniting and mobilizing the masses for this central aim. Its candidates will not be opponents of the other win-the-war candidates, but, on the contrary, collaborators and supporters. The only aim of the Communist Party in the elections is to help win the war.

This policy flows inevitably from the established position of our Party in our war for national liberation and democratic liberties. This position "has set aside every other consideration for the duration to concentrate upon the single aim of doing its part in the organization of the people under their government for victory in this war" (Browder). This is the aim and objective of the election policy and tactics of the Communist Party.

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THE ROLE AND PROBLEMS OF A PEOPLE'S CADRE OF WIN-THE-WAR LEADERS

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

THIS article is, in a sense, a continuation of a previous one * reviewing the historical development of cadre policy of the Communist Party and the decisive role of Earl Browder in this process. That article declared:

"The Leninist view of building the Communist Party as the vanguard and leader of the working class evaluates the question of cadres—their selection, distribution and training—as one of primary importance. . . . In the growth and development of our Party toward a mass Party, with strong roots among the American workers, the problem of cadres has occupied an important place. . . .

"More than anyone else, Comrade Browder has undeviatingly pursued a Leninist policy in approaching the solution of this problem. . . . However, understanding that the problem of cadres should always be approached in the light of the tasks confronting the Party at different periods, Comrade Browder placed different emphasis at different times, although never deviating from the guiding policy which he expressed as follows:

" 'Communist Party policy depends for effectiveness upon the leading personnel which must translate it into life. Our policy can never rise above the political level of the Party leading committees.' "

Under the present-day conditions in which our country is waging a people's war, with the rapidly proceeding formation of a first-class fighting army of millions, our Party is again confronted with the problem of speedily promoting, training and testing, in the midst of the war, an entire new corps of Party functionaries. Among these new thousands, the women members of our Party and the men and women working in essential industry must make the major contribution.

Development of Win-the-War People's Cadres

In all phases of our nation's life and activity, at this critical moment in its military struggle for its own existence and for a world free from fascism and reaction, the participation of the people is decisive.

The participation of millions of Americans in their war of liberation, in common struggle with our

* "Earl Browder—Molder of Party Cadres," by John Williamson, *The Communist*, June, 1941.—*The Editor.*

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allies, the Soviet, British and Chinese peoples, and with all the United Nations, places the development of leading personnel—or cadres—as a problem in every phase of the war effort.

The Army

Nowhere is this process so urgent as in the building of a fighting army of ten million Americans. The training of these millions in the strategy and tactics of present-day warfare, and their political mobilization to understand the people's character of the war, necessitates a structure, from platoon to General Staff, around which to create a tough, hard-hitting military machine composed of the pride of American manhood knowing what it is fighting for and declaring:

"We know that only the warrior is the conqueror and we cannot win this war without fighting. It is not easy. It is never going to be easy to open a front or start fighting. But as soldiers, we came here to fight. When, in God's name, do we fight?"*

The urgency of the cadre question in the building of our army is well recognized, for instance, by Hanson W. Baldwin, who declared in a recent review:

"The development of the Army today is like the growth of a cellular organism. No sooner is one unit trained and brought up to strength than a new cell, or, as the Army calls it, a cadre, is split off from it to form the nucleus of a new tactical unit. This nucleus of experienced personnel trains new drafted men sent to it from the reception centers and in turn when it has reached maturity provides a cadre for still another unit."*

Industry

Because of the highly mechanized aspect of present-day warfare, requiring eighteen civilian workers behind each fighter, as "soldiers of production," the question of cadres in mastering production and guaranteeing smooth and uninterrupted turnout of war materials constitutes another aspect of this question. While much more should be done through the medium of war industry training courses and schools, the key to this training question as part of the larger problem of increased production rests with the union-management victory production committee in each shop, mill and mine. A properly functioning production committee, as called for by Donald Nelson, will concern itself with every aspect of increasing production and will have its counterpart in every main division or department of the plant. These must not only concern themselves with the institution of new methods and techniques to increase production among the experienced workers, but should establish a special apparatus to train the tens of thousands of new workers, many of them women, entering industry for the first time. This urgently necessary phase of the war effort will be carried through more effectively to the extent that Big Business joins with labor in

* Editorial in *Yank*, Aug. 19, 1942.

* *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 18, 1942.

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placing the winning of the war against Hitler as its central task, and all attempts to make labor carry the sole burden of the war are immediately ended. The cadres for mobilizing the masses of industrial workers to master production problems are, therefore, on the one hand, the union-management production committees and, on the other, the union shop stewards and committees.

Civilian Front

On the third great field of war effort—civilian defense—the present thousands of air raid and fire wardens, nursery school committees and salvage committees are only the skeleton apparatus—the cadres—around which eventually the entire civilian population must be trained and organized for all phases of civilian defense, price control, rationing and morale building.

Functioning of Trade Union Leadership Today

Everyone who understands the present war as a life-and-death struggle between the forces of progress and national liberation as against the forces of medieval barbarism, recognizes labor and the trade union movement as the backbone of the nation and its effort toward victory. While the trade unions must continue to perform their function of defense of the economic welfare of the workers in industry and political activization of the working class in support of all necessary progressive measures and legislation, this must be carried through under the conditions of arousing and mobilizing the entire working class and nation to a victorious people's war. Today there are hundreds of thousands of trade union officers, stewards and activists, all of whom constitute the rich cadre of American working class organization. Like the rest of America, a large percentage of these are gladly entering the armed forces of the country. New trade union cadres must be promoted from the ranks. Today, this army of trade union cadres, both old and new, must learn to fulfill its responsibility under new conditions. For instance:

(1) With the increasing strength of the unions and the granting of the right of check-off, with the granting of "maintenance-of-membership" clauses in many contracts, and the 100 per cent unionization conditions in other shops and industries, the role of the shop steward tends to change. Whereas previously one of the chief tasks of the steward was the collection of dues, sometimes even at the expense of attention to grievances, today in shops with the check-off this is no longer necessary. In such shops the stewards have the responsibility of "policing" the contract and seeing that it is lived up to, the speedy settling of all grievances tending to interfere with war production, and the completion of the unionizing of the shop or plant. Of course, keeping all the union members in good dues standing is still an important function in a great majority of shops; but methods must be developed to enable union functionaries to devote more energy to increasing

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output and all other win-the-war tasks.

(2) The problem of unionizing unorganized plants, or completing the unionization of plants where the majority of workers are already in the union, must be adapted to present-day conditions. In every case the union must connect its unionizing activities with a clear-cut statement of its determination to do everything necessary to smash Hitlerism and win this people's war. It must show how unionization will simultaneously strengthen the war effort by guaranteeing sustained and improved quality of production of war materials through union-management production committees and also contribute to the effectiveness of production and all civilian war activities by improving and protecting the health, economic well-being and security of the workers.

In carrying through unionizing activities today it is necessary for the trade union cadres to realize that many thousands of new workers are entering industry for the first time. These are women and rural and small town workers. They have not experienced the old conditions in the factory prior to the coming of the trade unions. They bring with them many of the instilled prejudices toward trade unions common to restricted localities and backward surroundings. These workers must be approached with simple, convincing arguments, repeating many things which the old-time factory worker knows through experience. They must be shown the benefits of trade unionism in dollar-and-cent returns to themselves and in its contribution toward winning the war. It is especially necessary that the unions give greater recognition to their women members, promoting them to positions of leadership, assigning them as organizers and selecting them as shop stewards and grievance committeemen.

(3) The trade union cadres in the shop and local union occupy a strategic position and have the responsibility of clarifying their members on all the burning issues of the day; mobilizing them for various war efforts, furthering their political understanding by establishing libraries and reading rooms in the local union hall and organizing forums, and by issuing regularly union plant papers and encouraging the reading of labor newspapers and literature.

It is clear that the question of leading personnel, or cadres, is not exclusively a problem of the Communist Party but of all labor and people's organizations. It assumes greater proportions today because of the necessary mass mobilization of the entire population in every phase of waging this people's war to destroy and wipe out Hitlerism and to clean out all fifth columnists and their defenders at home.

Experience of Our Soviet Ally

What we are experiencing today, our allies—the Soviet, British and Chinese peoples—have been learning before us. Our great Soviet ally has consistently followed a policy of treasuring its people and developing and promoting their best sons and daughters to positions of re-

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sponsibility. Stalin, the great leader of the Soviet people, declared seven years ago:

"It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realized that under our present conditions 'cadres decide everything.' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport and the army—our country will be invincible. . . . It is only in combatting difficulties that real cadres are forged. And if our army possesses genuinely steeled cadres in sufficient numbers, it will be invincible."*

How eloquently history has borne out these guiding words of Stalin in the magnificent fighting of the Red Army and its well-trained cadres in defense of Stalingrad!

A Win-the-War Policy for the People's Cadres

While cadres for each field of activity need specialized training, it is equally necessary that the cadres in *all* fields of war activity have certain common training and understanding. That will make their work more effective and guarantee that everyone is working in harmony, thus strengthening the unity of our nation behind a common policy of immediate military collaboration of the U.S.A. and Britain with the Soviet Union through the establishment of a Western Front.

The thousands of cadres around whom the masses are organized—whether in the army, industry, or in civilian defense—can make their work most effective and strengthen their leadership, if there is a common understanding on the following essentials:

(a) *That the present war is a people's war.* Let every leader of people's war activity study and draw conclusions from such speeches as that of Vice President Wallace, who declared:

"The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. . . . In this great revolution of the people, there were the American revolution of 1775, the French revolution of 1792, the Latin American revolution of the Bolivarian era, the German revolution of 1848 and the Russian revolution of 1917. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. . . . The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the world have hitherto enjoyed. . . . If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy."

(b) *That victory can only be achieved and Hitlerism destroyed by strengthening the fighting alliance of the United Nations and the immediate opening of a Western Front.* The historic statement following the conferences and agreements between Roosevelt, Molotov and Churchill should be re-read and conclusions drawn, especially with reference to the White House declaration that:

"In the course of the conversations full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

* Joseph Stalin, *The Soviets and the Individual*, International Publishers, New York, pp. 12-13.

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The world already knows that our soldiers have drawn the conclusions from this declaration. They say:

"The time has come, we think, to ask a simple question: 'When do we fight?' Being soldiers, we have sat around for months now, waiting for that question to be answered for us. It hasn't been. These facts we hold to be self-evident: that we need the planes, the guns, the ordnance, the transport to win this war. . . . But we know also that we came into this profession of soldiering in good faith. . . .We came with a common purpose and a common goal. . . . When, in God's name, do we fight?"*

(c) *That the camp of National Unity at home, inclusive of Democrats, Republicans, Communists and those of no political party, must be further strengthened; that the defeatists must be routed and the fifth columnists imprisoned.* Those who have the responsibility of leading the people's participation in the war know how necessary unity for the defeat of Hitler is. These tens of thousands of people's leaders in the factories, unions and civilian defense activities must rouse the entire country, including those who hesitate and waver within the Administration itself, to a full realization that effective measures must be taken against Coughlinites, Dies & Co., who try, through Red-baiting and labor-baiting, to divert attention from their own Hitlerite policies. The people must also be shown the significance of the present elections and be made to realize how decisive their outcome is in the waging of the war. The people should furthermore be made to realize that all American Pétains and Lavals, within both the Democratic and Republican parties must be decisively defeated. Let there be printed in capital letters in every bulletin these words of President Roosevelt:

"There is still, however, a handful of men and women . . . who mock and sneer at the four freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number, but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. . . . And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and the radio of our enemies."*

(d) *Recognition that labor is the backbone of the nation, that its representatives must be given an equal and responsible role in all phases of the war effort and that our nation's war economy must be completely overhauled to meet the needs of a total war economy.* In every phase of war work, labor contributes a substantial part of the new people's cadres. Let every leader of war work better understand labor's viewpoint by studying and drawing all the conclusions from the statement of the C.I.O. Executive Board, which declared:

"It is the primary duty of the workers today to mobilize all the

* From editorial in *Yank*, Aug. 19, 1942.

* Speech before Student Assembly, September 3rd, Washington, D.C.

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forces of the nation in complete support of and alliance with the national administration, which has the responsibility for conducting the war. It is therefore labor's direct concern that there be no obstacle permitted to stand in the way of accelerating . . . production . . . which will enable our national leaders to put into effect the people's earnest desire for the supreme offensive—the second front. . . . The production program demands a central planning and central organization in the hands of individuals who are committed to the policy of all effort and any sacrifices to win the war. . . . The President's 7-point program is a complete program which requires action on every one of the seven points."*

The people's character of the war and the people's participation in it will be strengthened by the political clarity and action based upon such a minimum program, as expressed by the recognized leaders of our nation in its conduct of the war and consistently held to with confidence in the people for the future—a future described by President Roosevelt in these words:

"The better world for which you fight—and for which some of you give your lives—will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. . . . You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world."*

Communist Cadres and the War

Like all other participants in the camp of national unity, the Communist Party is sharply confronted with the problem of solving its cadre problems in this new situation. Among the thousands of Communists who have proudly taken their place in the armed forces of our nation are hundreds of our trained cadres, including an ever increasing proportion of Section and State functionaries. A few examples will emphasize the problem:

New York: Already in the service are 20 per cent of the State Committee, 22 per cent of the section organizers (with another 25 per cent going in the next month), and 30 per cent of the section organization secretaries.

Chicago: 20 per cent of the District Committee, with another 15 per cent in the immediate future; 35 per cent of the section organizers; and 20 per cent of their section organization secretaries.

Michigan: 20 per cent of the State Committee, and another 20 per cent in the next immediate period; 25 per cent of their section organizers.

Ohio: 12 per cent of their State Committee members, and an additional 33 per cent in the next period; 45 per cent of their section organizers; and 12 per cent of their section organization secretaries.

The same approximate trend exists in other districts. In the

* C.I.O. Executive Board statement, issued from Washington September 2nd, appeared in *Daily Worker* September 3rd.

* From speech before Student Assembly, September 3rd, Washington, D. C.

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next six months, in common with all America, we must be prepared to replace a majority of our functionaries in all state organizations, especially in the concentration districts. When one examines the composition of the leading committees of the Communist Party from the viewpoint of size of family, age and sex, it is clear that we are contributing the overwhelming majority of our young, energetic cadres to the armed forces of our country.

Problems in Developing New Communist Cadres

The problem of preparing the promotion of new cadres, under these conditions, was raised months ago. Throughout the Party, the majority of our Branch functionaries are already women. However, only in Illinois, New York, California and Massachusetts have we seen a serious promotion of women to section posts, and in no district has this problem been met in regard to state and district functionaries.

The entire Party must realize the seriousness of this problem and follow a consistent, conscientious policy in meeting and solving it. The main points of such a policy are:

(1) Bold promotion and training of women, shop workers and men over military age to replace those entering the armed forces. In this process we must avoid the tendency of promoting only non-working class forces, which has already appeared in some districts. While a hundredfold greater emphasis must be placed on the training and promotion of women to functionary posts, this must be within the framework of promoting to all functionary posts *men and women who are employed in industry,* as well as those who already hold posts of leadership in trade unions and other mass organizations. Because a new comrade replacing an old experienced worker cannot for a time be expected to absorb all his experience and training, it is worth while considering a broader form of leadership—involving two new persons to handle the post of the old functionary.

(2) For posts of state and district leadership the development of new cadres must be pursued much more carefully and systematically. Already plans should be made for the replacement of every functionary who may leave in the next year. This cannot be left to the last minute, nor can we expect to replace such top leaders by juggling forces from one district to another. *The process of promotion must be rooted in each specific city and State.* While pursuing the *boldest* policy of promotion of members employed in shops or in trade union work, who have never before held Party functionary posts, we should *always be guided* by the tests of working class devotion, Party loyalty, close contact with the masses, steadfastness in struggle and under enemy fire, immunity to moods of panic and pessimism, and ability to work collectively.

(3) Recognition that the needs of the war will not permit replacing all full-time functionaries who enter the army with new full-time functionaries. This means that many who will be promoted to functionary posts in section and state lead-

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ership will have to assume this responsibility under the added difficulty of doing it after their regular day's work. This, above all else, means a better distribution of forces and greater collective leadership. This will force a break in some unsatisfactory methods of leadership where the section organizer sometimes followed a "closed shop" policy which militated against the necessary process of political development of new forces through collective leadership. The reduced number of full-time functionaries should be considered for area-wide leadership, combining several sections having non-full-time functionaries.

(4) In this process of developing and promoting new cadres, special attention must be given in all districts to overcoming the present insufficient number of Negro members serving on Party committees on a section and state scale.

(5) The approach to training and educating the new functionary cadre must also be changed to fit into the necessary present-day war conditions. The number of full-time schools will be drastically reduced and replaced with a system of week-end schools, following which the students (functionaries) must continue their training through a system of personal follow-up work, self-study and correspondence, returning on various week-ends for review and discussions. The curricula must be simplified and limited to essential fundamentals, current interpretation and application of policy. Every functionary should make himself more effective by systematic studying of *The Communist* and reading of the *Daily Worker*, and in turn mobilize every member for regular reading of the *Daily Worker*.

Training and Experience Through Struggle and Activity

In this new period that confronts our nation and our Party, calling for the bold promotion and development of almost an entire new corps of Party functionaries, we have full confidence that the Party will meet and solve this problem in the spirit that animates all our work—everything to win the war. These new Party cadres will not only master the minimum essentials common to all American people's cadres, but will also qualify in their specific Party training. They will learn to work in such a way as to combine ability to influence the mass policy of labor and the people for winning the war. They will be able to do this with the development of the greatest political clarity and deepened ideological influence of the Party through a mass circulation of the *Worker* and mass distribution of Party literature. They will thus bring about the strengthening of the Party base among the workers, especially in basic industry, in order to strengthen the war effort.

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THE INVADERS MUST BE FOUGHT IN ALL OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

AT THE cost of monstrous losses Hitler is today trying to predetermine the outcome of the struggle in his favor. He is ruthlessly driving his divisions forward and he keeps on sending reserves to slaughter in the South Russian steppes.

He is creating the impression that he is holding the trump card; but he is actually a desperate gambler. He is stripping his rear, withdrawing his units from occupied countries. He is straining his last strength. From mid-June to mid-August alone Hitler withdrew twenty-two divisions, including two tank division, from France, and hurled them East. He is draining German industry, which is strained to the point of cracking. He amassed his last reserves for a furious onslaught on the vital centers of the Soviet Union. It will suffice to note Hitler's mad chase for cannon-fodder in Germany and the vassal countries, his chase for labor power for German industry in enslaved European countries, to visualize how new costly machines are reduced to scrap metal for the production of armaments and ammunition, the dwindling of food resources in Hitler's rear, and the growing difficulties as regards raw materials, the ominous shadow cast upon fascist-enslaved Europe by the oncoming hungry winter—it will suffice to note all this to understand how rapidly Germany is headed for complete exhaustion. Hitler has decided to drain Germany as well as the vassal and occupied countries of Europe of all their blood to the last drop. He is recklessly resorting to new crimes and plunging into any adventure, heedless of any losses.

In the mad race with time Hitler is trying to get ahead of the Second Front, of the tempestuous onslaught of the peoples, of the impending grim retribution. But the fortitude and courage of the Red Army are growing. Red Army Men, Commanders and political workers are defending with their lives' blood their sacred native land, the honor of their wives, the lives of their children; they are rendering an immortal service not only to the people of their own country, but to all of mankind.

With bated breath the world is watching the progress of the battles on the South Russian fields. There the Soviet warrior who prefers death to retreat is influencing the course of events in all countries. His unwavering heart is like a mighty clarion call rousing peoples to active military operations.

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Before our eyes history's greatest process is taking place: The peoples themselves are demanding war—uncompromising, immediate, ruthless war against Hitler. British and American workers, farmers, office employes and intellectuals insist on the immediate landing of troops in Europe, insist on the immediate opening of the Second Front. This is only a realization that the justness and historical necessity of the war against Hitler could bring about a powerful unity of popular movement in England and America in favor of opening the Second Front. Decisive service in awakening this realization was rendered by the Red Army Man, the fighter who is withstanding the enemy onslaught on the Soviet fields of battle. The fortitude and heroism of the Soviet fighter, the high military skill of the Soviet command—this above all makes the Second Front an oppressing, deathly nightmare for Goebbels and Hitler.

Precisely now the utmost strain of strength, of self-sacrifice, of speedy, resolute action is required to spare the peoples of the world the terrible sacrifice, to put an end to the death-seeking monster once and for all. Not for one moment must illusions be harbored that biding of time will achieve anything, that it is best to delay decisive battle, that the correlation of forces would automatically change in favor of Hitler's opponents.

A realization of the imperative necessity for all freedom-loving peoples to wage, with all of their strength and energy, the just war against German fascism lies at the basis of the decisions adopted as a result of the negotiations in Moscow between the head of the Soviet Government, Stalin, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill. The outcome of the struggle can be decided only by active operations, only by the timely bringing into action of all forces of the freedom-loving peoples, all reserves, material as well as human.

The insurmountable difficulties facing Hitler do not as yet guarantee victory to the freedom-loving peoples; but they afford them a unique opportunity to achieve victory at a comparatively smaller cost, with the least sacrifices and in the shortest possible time. It is not in vain that even Goebbels expressed apprehension that the Second Front means not only the landing of an enemy army but also the uprising of popular masses against German troops. There is no doubt that the Britons and Americans who land in Europe will set foot not on a sandy desert but on friendly ground, to be met by a powerful stream of fraternal solidarity. But it is a mistake, a gross error, to think that it is sufficient to wait for the Second Front. Action is necessary immediately.

Workers who disable and damage machines, who go over from passive resistance to strikes and demonstrations; peasants who hide and burn crops, sabotage forced labor in the fields and obligatory deliveries, hide from the forces of occupation milk, grain, meat and vegetables; parents and teachers who educate the youth in the spirit

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of hatred and resistance to their oppressors and traitors—all of them undermine the rule of the invaders. The daring fighting detachments that blow up barracks, wreck factories, damage railways, derail trains with troops and armaments; guerrillas who intrepidly fight for freedom; who, with arms in hand, rise up for the struggle against the Hitler enslavers, act at once with the Red Army in hastening the end of the Hitler war.

True, there are still some individuals who insinuate, who faintheartedly and treacherously whisper, "What about the sacrifices? Are the results of the daily resistance worth the sacrifices made by the peoples? Everything must be done to spare the peoples such sacrifices!"

Who are they, these individuals advancing such arguments? They are simply traitors, posing as friends of mankind in order to paralyze the fighting spirit of the peoples and win favor with the fascist oppressors. They are old, incorrigible capitulators who kept on retreating; for without this retreat Hitler would never have come to the power which gave him the possibility to draw the whole world into the bloodiest of wars. They are trying to intimidate honest people, to blind them by a fear of sacrifices in order to hide from them the axe of Hitler's executioner raised over their heads.

The fighters for freedom in the occupied countries of Europe tell the masses today: "Precisely because we are firmly resolved to rid the peoples of the infinite tortures and the endless bloodshed, precisely because of this, we consider it necessary to strain every effort to hasten the final defeat of Hitler. Yes, the struggle against Hitler demands great, and will demand even greater, sacrifices; but the longer we delay this struggle, the weaker our desire and action to make sacrifices, the greater they will be. The war continues. Hunger takes a heavy toll of lives. Hitler has no scruples about exterminating the unarmed. The less our preparedness, the weaker our armaments and organization in face of the enemy, the more terrible our lot will be. If we feign death, death will inevitably be our doom. Life must be defended with the full ardor of courage, with all our strength."

Every fighter for freedom must explain to those who fear, who are intimidated, must teach them the great lesson of all battles: "You are strongest of all when you look danger squarely in the face, but you are most defenseless when you flee from it."

Decisive importance in the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against Hitler is acquired today by guerrilla warfare, by armed resistance to the fascist occupation forces. It appears, contrary to some assertions, that the guerrilla movement is not at all connected with the specific natural conditions, with the presence of huge forests, swamps, or inaccessible mountains. Guerrilla warfare can be waged in the densely populated industrial districts no less successfully than in the mountain

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gorges and thick forests, which seem, to some people, to be indispensable conditions for guerrilla warfare. The source of strength and safety, the refuge of the guerrillas are people and not nature. For the guerrillas' solidarity and determination, their oppressed countrymen are worth a hundredfold more than the forest and mountains.

The example and proof of this are supplied primarily by the successful struggle of the Soviet Partisans, who bring terror to the enemy. The example and proof of this are supplied by the successful struggle of the Yugoslav guerrillas, whose fighting detachments are operating not only in the forest of Bosnia, in the gorges of Dalmatia, but are operating also amid the hillocks of densely-populated Slovenia, in the villages and vineyards of the zone bordering on Austria. Guerrilla detachments are operating not only in the north of Norway; nay, in the very heart of Europe—in Bohemia, Moravia, in a number of French Departments, in many Polish districts—there is a growing guerrilla movement which causes increasing concern to the invaders.

Precisely the density of population frequently helps guerrillas in these places. The guerrillas have at their service there the multiform sources of information. And, lastly, it after all is not written on the face of every worker and peasant whether he is a guerrilla or not. In merging with the masses of the people, guerrillas are as unseen as a sword in a sheath, as a shaft of lightning hidden in the clouds.

There is still another prejudice which hinders the full development of the upsurge in the guerrilla movement in occupied Europe. Some argue thus: The moment for guerrilla struggle will arrive when the regular army of the Allies will be landed in Europe; then, allegedly, the peoples will at once take up arms and begin to press the enemy from all sides. This is wrong. The guerrilla struggle must not be viewed as a single act, as a spontaneous uprising at the "last minute." The guerrilla movement does not spring suddenly from underground, at the waving of a magic wand: it must be systematically developed, it needs cadres which develop in the course of stubborn struggle in rigorous conditions; armaments must be procured; experience must be accumulated; organizational contacts established.

The Yugoslav Liberation Army, which already numbers some two hundred thousand fighters in its ranks, has procured armaments and accumulated experience. It succeeded at this decisive period in launching a daring offensive, which evokes universal admiration, diverting fifteen to twenty divisions of the Nazi army from other theatres of war, and is scoring serious successes solely because the intrepid sons of the proud freedom-loving Yugoslav people had from the very beginning organized guerrilla detachments and gradually progressed from small operations to major ones, to more and more organized military operations.

The brilliant example set by the Yugoslav people has revealed to all

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peoples that it is possible, without even having cover in the form of a regular army, to create a mighty guerrilla movement, that it is possible on their own initiative to make a considerable contribution to the common liberation struggle against German fascism and its "allies." The sooner the patriots of countries oppressed by fascism will realize that it is their supreme honor, their inalienable duty before their country to become guerrillas, the armor-bearers of the people fighting against the spawn of fascist hangmen, the greater the spur and speed will be added to the development of the peoples' uprising against Hitler slavery.

Not everyone is capable of becoming a guerrilla. But everyone who cherishes his country and its freedom, who wants to spare his people endless tortures, to save it from slavery, can and must in one or another way facilitate the development of the guerrilla movement, must in one or another way cause damage to the corrupters, make their life miserable, obstruct their rule in a foreign country. To build indestructible national solidarity, erect invisible—but felt at every step—obstacles in the way of the enemy, to fan hatred for the invader landsknechts, to brand with shame and punish traitors, to condemn those shady individuals who hide their contacts with traitors, hoping that thereby they would leave open their way for the return to the bosom of the people who recoiled from them, to sabotage all understakings, all campaigns of the invaders and their flunkeys—this today is the iron and inviolable law for every patriot.

His duty to his country dictates to every patriot today to refrain from any action which might benefit the fascist enemy and to support every action and all those whose activities are detrimental to the enemy. The duty of every patriot to his country brings to him realization of the fact that at the present moment of greatest historical decisions there is not and can be no room for the position of "neutrality." Today you either serve the people or your enemy. There is no middle course! Today none in the countries seized by Hitler can remain standing at the crossroads between two fronts.

This realization must be tirelessly hammered home and kept up throughout Europe to its remotest corners. The guarantee of a powerful and successful development of guerrilla warfare as well as other multiform activities of the national liberation movement in all of the occupied countries is the unity and growing consolidation of all sections of the people against the forces of occupation and their contemptible agents, against all sorts of national traitors and capitulators.

The National Front, strongly welded organizationally among the masses and complemented by agreements between the leaderships of all truly anti-Hitler parties and groups, will multiply tenfold the strength of the people fighting against its bitterest enemies—the Hitlerites. Such a National Front represents the imperative foundation and main weapon in the great struggle waged

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by the peoples oppressed by Hitler, for their liberation from the fascist yoke.

The example of the Red Army, of the whole Soviet people, is a stirring call to all peoples. Already it is more than a year that the Soviet people have borne the full weight of the sacred war against the twentieth-century Huns. With unwavering fortitude, undeterred by any sacrifice, the Soviet people have borne the fiercest blows. They compel the enemy to hurl an ever greater number of divisions, tanks and planes into battle, to be reduced to heaps of metal scrap and mountains of dead.

Defenders of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, the Caucasus, who infinitely love life, but whose love of the people of their country is far greater, these immortal heroes whose stoicism, valor and courage are saving the lives of hundreds of other peoples, the future of their people and all peoples—they are all ready to fight to the last breath, for they are proud in the realization of one thought: That day is nigh when the enemy will choke with his own blood, when he will recoil before the barrels of their automatic rifles and the muzzles of their guns, when he will be routed.

The hour for daring, resolute action has come for the oppressed, suffering and humiliated peoples. On the courage and valor, on the initiative and activity of the masses in the Hitler-occupied countries depend to a considerable extent the strength and speed with which the blow will be inflicted on Hitler, how soon an end will be put to the suffering, horror and tortures of the peoples.

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THE PEOPLE'S FRONT OF YESTERDAY—THE NATIONAL FREEDOM FRONT OF TODAY AND TOMORROW

BY ERNST FISCHER

SIX years have passed since July 18, 1936, the day when the Spanish fascist generals carried through their putsch against the Spanish People's Government — six years which placed on the shoulders of the peoples the unparalleled weight of world-historic events. It is no accident that we recall this date today: for it was then that the new world war reared its head fearfully before the gates of Madrid, and from that besieged and heroic city there stretched the broad trail of blood to the ruins of Warsaw and Rotterdam, Belgrade and Coventry, to all the sufferings and torments of Hitler's war.

The putsch of the Spanish generals was no local or isolated incident. The initiators of the putsch were to be found in Rome and Berlin. Hitler and Mussolini conducted in Spain a well-planned struggle against the freedom of the European peoples, against world peace. They strove with all their might to break the new and powerful force that the people were forging in the struggle against the fascist warmongers. This new powerful force was the People's Front for struggle against war and fascism.

The great People's Front movement which arose in France and Spain, stimulated and propagated with indefatigable energy by the Communists, taken up and developed by growing masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and by organizations and parties of the working people, was correctly estimated by the fascist bandits as the most serious menace to their war plans. It was with the deepest disquiet that Berlin and Rome marked the rise and growth of a new movement which opened up to the peoples the real, hitherto concealed, possibility of stifling the threatening war in embryo, of hemming in the fascist war incendiaries behind an insurmountable wall where they must languish and perish.

Until then the fascist robber gang had succeeded in splitting the forces of democracy and peace, by maneuvering one against the other, and

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in destroying them one by one. They succeeded, by a deafening hullabaloo against "Bolshevism," in scaring, not only conservative elements of society, but also the timid petty bourgeoisie in all parties, and in camouflaging their drive against democracy and world peace as an anti-Communist "crusade"; by smashing the Communist Parties they succeeded in breaking the backbone of the working class; and then, by demolishing the workers' organizations, they succeeded in breaking the backbone of the entire people, ending finally, step by step, in establishing complete fascist dictatorship, utter domination by the gang of warmongers. They succeeded in representing their division, degradation and poisoning of the people as the "community of people"; in dimming the thinking capacity of millions of people; and in transforming the bitterness of millions of people against imperialist license into a terrible weapon of precisely this very imperialist license.

And all at once an unexpected obstacle rose up in their path. The process of unification and collaboration of democratic forces set in. The unnatural cleavage between Communists, on the one hand, and Social-Democrats and democrats, on the other, began to be overcome; it began to dawn on wide sections of people that they stood in need of the Communists, and that the drive against the Communists was in actual fact a cunning onslaught on the people themselves. The lying talk of the "community of people" — which in reality meant nothing other than utter subordination of the people to the Krupps and Goerings, the degradation of the people to the level of stupid "retainers"—was overwhelmed by a real unification of the people, a unity of struggle born of free decision by organized forces that were not "totalized" but which united voluntarily to uphold the fundamental rights of man, to defend freedom and peace.

The fascist warmongers well understood — perhaps much better than a large number of forces in the camp of democracy and world peace—what victory of the People's Front in Spain would involve. Hitler and Mussolini did all they possibly could, by diplomatic machinations, by disruptive work of the Fifth Column, and finally by force of arms as well, to bring about the defeat of the People's Front in Spain. Only one single great power supported the Spanish people with advice and help—and that was the Soviet Union.

Concentrated to an ever-growing degree in this bloody struggle for Spain that began July 18, 1936, was the struggle for the People's Front, the struggle for war or peace throughout Europe, throughout the world.

In those days of great struggle for the salvation of peace, Dimitroff wrote:

"Fascism means the destruction of all the democratic rights won by the people, the establishment of the kingdom of darkness and ignorance and the destruction of culture; it means nonsensical race theories

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and the preaching of hatred of man for man, for the purpose of kindling wars of conquest. Death and destruction are being spread today in Spain by the rabble who form the Foreign Legion, by duped Moroccan troops led by fascist generals, and by the ammunition and military units sent to Spain by the fascist rulers of Germany, Italy and Portugal. The combatants of the Republican Army, fighting at the walls of Madrid, in Catalonia, in the mountains of Asturias, all over the peninsula, are laying down their lives to defend not only the liberty and independence of Republican Spain, but also the democratic gains of all nations, and the cause of peace against the fascist war incendiaries. . . .

"But in Spain the fascist rebels and their inspirers from Berlin and Rome have encountered . . . the armed resistance of the People's Front. The Spanish people by their heroic struggle are today demonstrating how democracy is to be defended against fascism. . . .*

". . . the fascist beast must be muzzled. It must be confronted by the mighty organized fist of the People's Front. It must be muzzled in iron so as to prevent it from biting. It must be struck at and finished once and for all, in order to save the democratic gains won by the people and safeguard peace."**

As early as the previous year, speaking from the tribunal of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, Dimitroff had called for working class unity, for a People's Front against war and fascism, and proclaimed the complete readiness of Communists to work alongside all democratic forces, all forces for peace, in order to halt the oncoming fascist barbarism, the threatening world war. Dimitroff declared that interested in the maintenance of peace were not only the working class, the peasantry and other working people, but also oppressed nations and weaker peoples, and even certain of the greater powers:

"This gives rise to the possibility of forming a very wide front of the working class, of all working people and whole nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will for peace of millions upon millions of working people, our Congress has opened up the perspective of developing a wide anti-war front, not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, and for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and comes into operation will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist instigators of war will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of a powerful anti-war front."*

Terribly serious as was the danger of a war prepared by the fascist warmongers, there existed the real possibility of averting the threatening catastrophe through collaboration of all forces of democracy and peace, through joint struggle of these forces. Without at any time developing illusions to the effect

* George Dimitroff, *The United Front*, International Publishers, New York, pp. 202-203.
** *Ibid.*, p. 209.

* *Ibid.*, p. 134.

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that the People's Front was a cure-all, the Communists were tireless in characterizing it as a great change, a great historical possibility facing the people in struggle against the menace of fascist-made war; they exerted all their energy, all their determination and steadfastness in order to turn this great possibility into reality. If the peoples glance backward they must undoubtedly recognize that the path then indicated was a correct one and capable of being traversed, that the possibility really existed, through an all-embracing, united and consistent struggle along the path of the People's Front, of averting the immeasurable misfortune that several years later befell the whole of mankind.

Let us recall the facts: The very first powerful moves of the French People's Front drove back the myrmidons of Hitler in France, and called forth an undreamed-of national upsurge throughout the country. The working class grasped the Tricolor in its strong hands and the Marseillaise rang out with its old popular ring. The German fascists grew frightened and yielded before the unexpected strength of the French people. Not only did the People's Front in Spain, through its heroic armed resistance, constitute a powerful barrier to the fascist warmongers, but, as the fascists themselves subsequently admitted, their fate at that time hung by a hair, and it only required a slightly more active international support for a complete victory of the People's Front to be won in Spain, and thereby for the fascist aggressors to be weakened to an unexampled degree. The political and moral effect of a victory of the People's Front in Spain would have been of priceless significance internationally, and would have fundamentally altered the relation of forces between the fascist aggressors and the upholders of peace and democracy. In Germany itself such a victory of the People's Front would have influenced the development of events for a long time to come; it was no accident that at the time of the rise of the People's Front the anti-fascist movement even in Germany experienced a marked upsurge. The successes of the People's Front exerted a strong influence over the feelings and thoughts of various sections of the people in Germany as well.

Let us for a moment try to imagine that the working class had really united its forces at that time and with the same unity as that with which they are working today for victory of the democratic powers—had exerted their concentrated power for victory of the People's Front, for inexorable struggle against the fascist aggressors and their Fifth Column accomplices, for adoption of the sharpest measures to halt the threatening menace of the war being prepared by Hitler. Let us imagine that instead of the short-sightedness—yes, blindness—with which many democratic leaders and politicians lulled themselves in the hope that it was possible to appease the appetite of the fascist beast by way of concessions, instead

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of the petty party egotism that impelled many people to turn away from the People's Front out of fear that the Communist parties might grow stronger, instead of the suicidal tolerance of that treachery which under the well-known mask of "anti-communism" undermined the People's Front from within—in place of all this craft narrow-mindedness, had there existed a clear understanding of the fact that the Spanish freedom-fighters in Madrid were also defending Paris and London, Warsaw and Prague, and had the will existed to put an end to this unparalleled onslaught on the freedom and peace of peoples—then it would undoubtedly have been possible to save the world from the immeasurable horrors of war. The employment of but a small part of the unity, valor and sacrifice with which the peoples today are conducting the struggle for their national independence, for their most elementary human rights, for the salvation of their homeland and for the lives of their children, would have sufficed at that time to bar the way to the fascist aggressors, to strangle them through the Peace Front, to destroy them then and there by the united forces of the people.

There is an old Italian anecdote about a notorious fourteenth-century bandit leader who went into a fury when two monks greeted him in the usual way with the words, "Peace be with you." When the monks expressed their surprise and asked him why he was so upset, the bandit leader answered, "So you want me to die from hunger? Don't you know that I get my living by war, and that peace would mean my end? To wish me peace means to wish me death." In the same way peace would have eaten up the German fascist leaders. And, on the other hand, a warlike onslaught of the peoples united under the banner of the People's Front would have meant the downfall of the fascists in the briefest possible time. As Dimitroff so correctly remarked at the time:

"By economic and political measures, the warmongers should be put absolutely in a *state of siege*. They should be cornered in such a way that they are incapable of carrying out their criminal plans. The globe should be encircled with such a network of organizations of the friends of peace, such a mighty movement of international solidarity and such effective measures of a united international policy of the proletariat for the maintenance of peace as will effectively tie the dastardly hands of the warmongers.

"The fascist aggressor must be made to feel most emphatically that his every step is vigilantly watched by millions of people and that any attempt to attack other peoples will meet with the determined resistance of the proletariat and working people of the whole world."*

If we point out today that the world war was not bound to happen at all costs, that it was not so unavoidable as a natural catastrophe is, that a great chance and a great possibility existed of stifling it in embryo through united and

* *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.

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timely action on the part of all threatened peoples and of all democratic and all truly national forces, all forces interested in peace in all lands, we do so, not in order to stir up the past once again. For the sake of the future we consider it useful to recall the facts. In the days of the People's Front there were all too many people who, devoid of political creative capacity, clung to tradition, shook their heads and said: "What do you want with a People's Front? How can it be possible that the working class, just because it does not give up its ideals, its internationalism, can be the backbone of the nation? How can it be possible that history is entering new paths, that something so new as a People's Front, a joint struggle of workers, peasants, working intellectuals and all men truly devoted to their people and their nation can prevail over old habits and prejudices? How can it be possible that Communists, Social-Democrats, democrats, people who see in the nation, in religion, in socialism, the essence of all values, can join together for a lengthy period, for joint defense of fundamental principles?" And when the People's Front suffered a reverse, not so much as a result of attack of outside forces as from intrigues from within, then all these eternal dwellers in the past cried out: "You see, the People's Front is dead, it was incapable of existing for long."

But today, in the great bloody war of the peoples against fascist brutality, the People's Front, in the form of the National Freedom Front, has risen up like a phoenix. When the Communist Party of France, in struggle against the menace of war from the fascists, in struggle against the capitulators and betrayers, proposed an extension of the People's Front into a National Front, it met with misunderstanding and refusal. Today in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, we see the workers, peasants, citizens, men of the most varied parties, callings and world outlooks, standing shoulder to shoulder in a great national front of the people against the fascist oppressors and against the Quislings.

When Dimitroff, after the cowardly and contemptible bombardment of the inhabitants of Almeria by German warships on May 31, 1937, uttered an energetic warning of the tremendous seriousness of this onslaught that went unpunished, this warning received too little attention. Today history itself confirms the words of Dimitroff:

"The brazen attack on Almeria may become the beginning of events pregnant with serious consequences for all peoples if forces are not mobilized in time. . . . The bombardment of Almeria is a serious lesson to all working people, irrespective of their political views or the organizations to which they belong."*

Almeria was followed by countless onslaughts of German fascists on cities, countries and peoples; but step by step the peoples drew les-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 242-244.

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sons therefrom, and, regardless of their political outlook and organizational affiliations, all freedom-loving peoples finally joined forces in the People's Front, the front of the peoples against the fascist warmongers. When the Communists put forward the view time and again that a remorseless struggle against the Fifth Column, against the traitors and capitulators, against the Lavals and Doriots, Quislings and DeMans, was one of the urgent tasks facing all those fighting for peace, they were frequently accused of exaggeration and narrow-mindedness.

Today the peoples are increasingly understanding what a terrible price has had to be paid for their patience toward native fascists and Fifth Columnists, the Lavals, Doriots, Quislings, DeMans; today the peoples know that traitors must be uprooted like the plague, and today they will fling anybody out of their ranks who in any way is linked up with traitors and considers their return to the ranks of the nation possible. From their own bitter experience the peoples have learned how valuable is the unity of the working class, the unity of all working people, the unity of the entire people, and what immeasurable suffering mankind would have been spared had this spirit of unity prevailed in time over the vile treachery, the miserable spirit of capitulation and the short-sighted craft outlook.

Working class unity, the National Freedom Front in every country upholding its freedom, a front of freedom-loving peoples against the motorized barbarism of the fascists, is an irreplaceable pre-condition for victory over Hitler and his confederates.

But after victory should the peoples give up this unity upheld in the most difficult struggles and won through blood and sacrifice? *The Communists consider it to be a historical task for this unity to be maintained after victory as well, so as to make the victory and the peace secure, for a long-term realization of the great and noble aim for which the war of the people against Hitler barbarism is being waged.* After the war, as well, the Communists will with the utmost energy and unreserved devotion be guided by the words of Dimitroff:

"True sons of their class, defenders of the interests of their people . . . Communists will best of all be able to play the role of *a uniting link* in the ranks of the proletariat itself and also among all parties, organizations and groups of the working people, democratic petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and intellectuals in the struggle against fascism and war."*

Communists recognize that in the great war of liberation against Hitler a still wider unity of the people is being hammered out, that all the forces for whom freedom and dignity, secure existence and all-round development of their people stand higher than any egotistical vested interest, that all these forces are called on to take their place in the great National Freedom Front.

* *Ibid.*, p. 238.

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The treaty between the Soviet Union and Great Britain, close collaboration with the U.S.A., the bloc of democratic great powers, are not only a guarantee of victory over Hitler but also a guarantee for the establishment of a long-lasting state of peace, for ensuring the peace and free development of the peoples against new acts of aggression on the part of warmongering imperialist adventurers.

The world-political foundation for true peace and the successful collaboration of all nations must and will find its consummation and consolidation within each country through the bloc of all progressive democratic forces truly devoted to the nation, so as to guarantee each people against fascist adventurers, marauders and betrayers, against the blows of Laval and Quisling, against the enemies and saboteurs of the democratic rights of the people. It is in the unity of the people in international collaboration among all peoples that Communists see, also after victory has been won over Hitler, the way leading to a better future for mankind.

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NATIVE DAUGHTER—COMMUNIST PARTY FOUNDER AND LEADER

BY SAMUEL ADAMS DARCY

THE pious Jews of patriarchal times, having reduced their women to the lowest estate of slaves, wrote into their morning prayers, and it has been chanted ever since: "Be thou praised God, our Lord, King of the Earth, who has not created me a woman." Many centuries later, Plato set forth his thanks to God for "eight favors" granted him. First he listed that he was "born free—not slave" and secondly, that he was "born man—not woman."

In all recorded history of mankind, probably the most heroic chapters in the long struggle for liberation were written by women who fought their way up from such slavery as even men never knew, to the position where their equal rights with men as human beings—now fully realized in the Soviet Union—are, if not achieved, at least in sight.

The world-shaking war for the destruction of Nazism is also a great struggle of woman to free herself from her disadvantageous place in society, to defeat the effort of the Nazis to drag her back to pre-feudal slavery and to find her equal place with man in marriage, in society, in industry, in education, and in political life.

In the last epoch of the struggle for liberation, the most able and heroic leaders of women have been those who made the fight to free women a part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. It is for this reason that the greatest fighters against family poverty, for woman suffrage, for the right of women to higher education, were outstanding leaders of the working class movement. In Germany, where Clara Zetkin first gained prominence fighting for equal suffrage; in Russia, where Krupskaya symbolized the host of workers for woman's full emancipation; in Spain, which brought forward Dolores Ibarruri; in China, as in France and every country of the world, the inspiring saga of the heroic struggle for freedom has many of its most brilliant pages written by women.

There is not a single important epoch in the history of our own country which has not in it the stories of great American women of such stature. Among the best of these in the past three-quarters of a

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century there stands out the life and work of Anita Whitney, simply and proudly called, by Al Richmond, our *Native Daughter*.*

Women's Rights and Working Class Emancipation

Anita Whitney was born of distinctly upper-class parentage. Her uncle was—despite the fact that he got his appointment from Abraham Lincoln for his opposition to secession—an extremely conservative, at times reactionary, United States Supreme Court Judge. Her father was a State Senator from Alameda County, California. Her lineage goes back to five Mayflower Pilgrims. Among the most famous of her earliest ancestors is Thomas Dudley, who was Governor of Massachusetts Colony in 1634, succeeding John Winthrop. In "Cotton Mather's Chronicles of the Massachusetts Colony, Dudley is praised for those Puritan qualities of intolerance, dogmatism, austerity, devotion to religion and a keen sense of business." The seeds of progressive thought were probably planted in Anita by her father, who quarreled with his wife for the privilege of reading Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the children. It was not customary to send girls to college when Anita was in her 'teens. But it was her father's help which won her that right.

Ever since, she has known no relaxation from the battle for women's rights. She fought to alleviate the hunger which was the common lot among the immigrant population of the East resulting from their intense exploitation. She fought for prison reform, especially for women, to alleviate the lot of the hundreds of thousands of honest and decent working class people on whom the heavy oppressive hand of "The Law" frequently falls. She was the leader of the victorious fight for woman suffrage in California and in Oregon and became nationally famous in that struggle. It was during that fight that she made her first contact with the Women's Trade Union Labor League and the Wage Earners League and other working class organizations of women. She played an important role helping the leaders of the West Coast agricultural strikes before the First World War in their battle for their organization and decent working conditions. In 1914 she joined the Socialist Party to fight against the Imperialist War.

Upon the frame-up and imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in 1916, she became active in their defense, as she became later in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. From the outset, she consistently sided with the Left Wing in the Socialist Party and, in 1919, helped found the Communist Party. She has always been actively interested in all struggles against national oppression. She has been a staunch defender of the rights of the Negro people; for fifteen years she was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

**Native Daughter*, the Story of Anita Whitney. By Al Richmond, published by the Anita Whitney Seventy-fifth Anniversary Committee, 170 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., 1942.

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In the past twenty-five years she has fought in numerous working class battles and struggles in defense of democracy—a militant record that has brought her widespread admiration. As the vote she polls on the Communist ticket indicates, she is one of the outstanding popular mass figures in the Communist Party of the United States, on whose National Committee she serves.

With all this, Anita Whitney is no galloping Amazon. Half in play, the elder Liebknecht tells, that Karl Marx, when once asked what is the quality he loves best in women, answered "femininess." People who know Anita Whitney's battle-marked history are amazed to find a sweet, shy, charmingly attractive and dainty woman whose only outward mark of greatness is her obviously keen intellectual perception and, as one soon learns, her unwavering iron-willed devotion to scientific political thought and working class struggle.

Al Richmond's book *Native Daughter*, to a considerable degree, captures this picture of Anita Whitney. It limits itself to the outstanding facts of her life and work. It deals only briefly with the issues, principles, concepts and ideals for which Anita fought. Now that Richmond has written so fine a book about her life—Anita Whitney herself may find the time to write a very necessary book about the thoughts and struggles which agitate our century. The commentaries of such an outstanding woman, on the life and thought of our time as they affect women, are necessary and would make an invaluable work.

Between the 1880's, when Anita Whitney began her activities, and today, tremendous progress has been made in the position of women in society. The rate of that progress has been constantly increasing. And, under the powerful impetus of the present world-battle for survival, the anti-woman prejudice and bigotry and the idiotic concept of "nature-given" male superiority are breaking down, and woman is fast taking her proper place in the productive forces of the country and thereby paving the way for her proper self-assertion in all other fields of social activity.

It is fitting, therefore, in connection with the publication of the story of Anita Whitney to dwell on certain important aspects of American womanhood's present-day advance as vital participant in our country's production for victory.

Women and War Production

War production for 1942 is planned to double that of 1941; and 1942's production is to be doubled again in 1943. For both war and consumer production for 1943, at least 25,000,000 factory workers will be required. This leaves a minimum shortage of 7,000,000 workers over the present available factory labor supply alone. The bulk of the million or more boys who graduate from schools every year will be going into the army. A great many now unemployed Negro workers are available. But the largest single source for making up this shortage is women. About 900,000 girls finish school each year. The balance will come

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from women who are today engaged in other occupations, including housework.

The Need for Women Workers

On September 4, the War Manpower Commission set up a committee of twelve women, to work out a policy for the mobilization of women workers. Paul McNutt, chairman of the commission, formulated their problem as follows:

"Increasing participation of women in our all-out war production effort is essential to its success. War production alone employed about 1,400,000 women last December. This figure will jump to 4,500,000 by December, 1942, and will climb to 6,000,000 by the end of 1943. By then women will represent at least 30 per cent of the labor force employed in war production.

"Over 18,000,000 women must be gainfully employed (in all occupations) by the end of 1943, so 5,000,000 women must be added to the total number of women now employed. This means that one out of every six women over 18 years of age, that are not now in the labor force, will be needed, and one out of every four housewives, perhaps one out of every three, between the ages of 18 and 44 will be employed."

The Availability of Women Workers

In a report submitted by Thelma McKelvey, of the Labor Division of the War Production Board, to the Tolan Hearings in the U.S. Senate, it is estimated that "another 8,000,000 [women] can be inducted into the total war effort to meet the service, agricultural and manufacturing needs of our civilian population and the military forces."

At the same hearings, John J. Corson, Director of the U.S. Employment Service, pointed out the increasing relaxations of employer specifications concerning the hiring of women. In an effort to indicate what jobs might be suitable for women, the Bureau of Employment Security is preparing an analysis of all jobs occurring in key war industries. At present only 623 occupations designated as essential to the war effort have been analyzed. Latest available information indicates that women are now employed in only twenty-seven of these. The analysis of the duties performed by workers in the remaining occupations indicates that 251 are apparently suitable for women. Of these 199 have a training period of less than six months. Another group of 188 occupations appeared to be partially suitable for women. Among these some breakdown of the job may be necessary or some rearrangement of the industrial process might be required in order to employ women. Of the entire list of 623 occupations, only 57 appeared to be entirely unsuitable for women. The employers are eagerly looking into these facts and there already are increasing instances in many industries (machine tool and precision instruments, metal fabricating, arsenals, munition plants, etc.) where the employers specify a preference for female workers as a means of keeping their production organization stable.

In the huge Willow Run plant in Detroit, Charles E. Sorenson, Vice

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President and General Manager of the Ford Co., announced that women now form 10 per cent of the plant's personnel and, praising their "splendid" work, he said:

"I am going to do everything I can to put more women into the plant. There is no reason why they should not be 50 per cent. I expect to see them around as foremen and superintendents. Why not?"

The Vultee Aircraft Co. of California began the introduction of women in their plant in April, 1941, when fifteen girls were hired. Today, over 10 per cent of the plant's personnel are women, a total of about 600 out of 5,000, and that number is increasing constantly.

The automotive and aircraft industry generally is making tremendous use of woman labor. The Vega Aircraft Corporation at Burbank, California, employs 1,800 girls, and Courtland S. Gross, executive head of the corporation, predicted that if present trends continue, airplane factories may be manned almost exclusively by women.

"This is looking far ahead," he said, "but it is not beyond the range of possibility. Right now there are so few jobs women cannot handle, Vega is hiring them in the same proportion it is hiring men.

"Heavy lifting jobs are of course beyond feminine capacity as are one or two machines which require masculine strength. However, it may be possible to provide mechanical aids which will remove this last barrier."

The Douglas Aircraft Corporation at Santa Monica, California, employs 3,500 women, and so on throughout the automotive and aircraft industry.

The Navy Yard in Philadelphia employs close to 5,000 women, or about 12 per cent of the yard's personnel, and that proportion is increasing very rapidly. The large Budd plant in Philadelphia, which was regarded as an exclusive "man's preserve," now gives preference to women in several departments.

Increasing proportions of women are being hired in the manufacture of artillery munitions, small arms munitions, aircraft, optical and fire control apparatus. Even the steel mills are opening up jobs to women workers. Harvey S. Firestone, president of his rubber company, has announced that women make up 22 per cent of Firestone's payroll and that before long they will make up 35 per cent of the total number of workers hired.

The Special Needs of Women Workers

That great liberator, Wendell Phillips, who played a part also in the fight for the liberation of women, pointed out that we must fight for an *equal* place with men for women in society and in industry but not for an *identical* place. He was speaking against the concept of certain bourgeois women whose "femininism" encompassed the sweeping away of all safeguards for women, particularly in industry. Over many years of struggle, labor had achieved State laws which governed the hours of work for women workers; they could not work at night; they were to have special rest rooms and medical facilities, etc.

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Many employers have, as the price for opening up their plants to women, exacted a number of measures which swept away a great many of the protective laws for women in industry. Altogether twenty-four states have taken such action. In some cases they have issued exemptions from the laws for a limited period of time or only for particular plants with contracts for war materials, but in some cases the elimination of protective measures was sweeping.

In California, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska and Wisconsin, plants have been granted permission by the State authorities to employ women at night. In Connecticut, the limit of hours of work per day for women has been raised from nine to ten and per week from 48 to 55. Virginia increased daily hours from nine to ten and weekly hours from 48 to 56, making only a vague stipulation about "necessary health safeguards." In Illinois, scores of firms were granted permits by the Director of Labor to employ women for a seven-day week. Only Ohio and Pennsylvania stipulated that women must be paid time and a half for the extra hours beyond the previous legal limit. New York allows the industrial commissioner to issue permits waiving laws regulating hours, night work, and one-day's-rest-in-seven, except for women under 18 years of age.

Looking at the great sacrifice being made for victory over the Hitlerite Axis by the women in the Soviet Union and other United Nations, it would be difficult to find justification for any complaints about the waiving of protective laws for women in American industry, except for two facts: (a) that very few States have made provisions for overtime pay, thereby giving employers the opportunity of increasing exploitation; and (b) the even more important consideration that these additional burdens are being imposed upon employed women while there are millions of hands available to fill the needs of war production—hands which are now idle, particularly among the Negro people and most particularly among Negro women, who are victims of the worst discrimination in private war industry, and also among many sections of the white female population. The easiest way out for many employers is simply to increase the burden of women already in or most easily available to industry and not compensate them properly for it.

This situation does not, however, obtain everywhere. There are already a number of large plants which are paying equal wages for equal work as between men and women. That, however, is not yet the general rule and is chiefly limited to such plants where progressive unions such as the United Auto Workers or the United Electrical and Radio Workers are strong.

The great progressive development which is augured by the entrance of increasing masses of women into industry is what Anita Whitney has fought for all her life. But, also, she fought for the protection of these women workers through the establishment of proper regulations safeguarding their welfare. And, today, every union would perform its functions better were it to draw the lessons from Anita Whitney's life-

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work and concern itself devotedly with this task.

Family and Children

The increasing employment of women in industry also raises problems of the protection of the family and children. The North American Aviation Co. at Los Angeles employs a counselor for women, Mrs. Dorothy Lewis. She listed "worry over the care of children" as the one which came up most often in her daily conferences with women workers. There has been a great deal of talk about Federal Nursery Schools, but thus far, although some appropriations have been made for experimental stations (in Philadelphia and some other cities), few, if any, have actually been established. The Vultee Aircraft finds this such a serious problem that in an interview with newspaper women recently that corporation declared "if the Government agencies bog down and do not act quickly Vultee is planning to go direct to nurseries and arrange care for children of Vultee women workers." Mr. Rochlen, director of industrial relations at the Douglas Aircraft Company, said that they know "of women who could not take jobs because they have no one to take care of their children. Probably within thirty days we will establish our own day nursery. . . ." The crying need for such nurseries is heard on every side, but thus far everything is limited to promises as to the future. In all cities where war industries are located there is developing the serious problem of what is known as "latch-key" children, that is, children whose parents work and who must shift for themselves between the closing of school and the return of their mothers from the factories. A number of cities have already recorded increasing juvenile delinquency because of this situation. This, again, is a ripe field for women who would join in the work in which Anita Whitney was a leader. Every union in the country is directly or indirectly concerned in this question, and if it is to meet the needs of its own membership, of the working class generally, and of the nation in this war period, it cannot continue to ignore these problems. All-out war unionism must break away from the old school of "business agentism" which limits itself to collecting dues, enforcing contracts and keeping the number of workers in industry limited. A new, modernized, streamlined unionism is necessary to meet present needs—of which the problems of women workers and their children are an essential part. The trade unions of our great ally, the Soviet Union, have done this work for many years and have provided us with excellent models to follow, on all these questions as well as in maternity cases, etc., etc.

The Activities of Certain Unions

Yet, unfortunately, very few unions in the country are alert to these questions, and some unions are playing a downright reactionary role. For example, in the Kaiser-operated Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation at Portland, hundreds of women are now employed directly on ship construction. Two hundred and seventy women are working as welders alone, many others as electricians,

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etc., etc. It is well known that the Kaiser yards are the most productive in the nation. Jack Murray, personnel director of the three Kaiser yards in Portland, Vancouver and Swan Island, declared that at least "30 per cent of the posts could be held down by women." The unions, however, are resisting that development and discriminating against women by preventing them from becoming full union members. The Boilermakers Union, for example, refuses to accept them into the union but "allows" them to work on a "special union permit." In a master agreement with the employer the union had inserted a clause that no physical examinations may be given to determine the fitness of women for work. The union is taking a hostile attitude toward women being promoted to supervisory jobs in the yards. This is probably one of the more extreme examples of such impediments to the war effort and to our women's effective participation in production for victory.

Our Tasks

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in her brilliant series of articles in the *Worker*, points out that despite the fact that Samuel Gompers always considered women unorganizable and that up to 1918 ten internationals of the A. F. of L. excluded women from membership, today there are almost a million women in trade unions. It must be recognized that never having been given adequate opportunity for working class contact, organization and education, the new masses of women entering industry require that efforts be made quickly to educate them to the level of progressive unionism. Progressives in the trade unions should initiate the establishment of special committees to encourage women in industry to join the unions, to carry on special activity to receive them into the unions and make them feel at home there, and to create adequate means to provide educational facilities to acquaint them rapidly with the problems of trade unions and bring them into the ranks of progressive unionists. If this problem slips from the hands of the progressive unions and progressive leaders, then surely certain reactionary employers will know how to take advantage of that.

It behooves our Communist Party which has pioneered in so many battles for progressive trade union organization to take up this fight and help to launch an adequate program for the organization of the unorganized women already in and entering industry, to service their needs, to break down the barriers and restrictions against them, to provide adequate protection and health safeguards and to guide them to progressive unionism. That would constitute one of the best possible contributions to the war effort. It is in the best tradition of the great Communist teachers, Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Stalin, of America's foremost Marxist, Earl Browder, and the great women leaders of our Party, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney, that this urgent task become one of the major concerns of the men and women who make up our Party membership today.

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SEVERSKY'S HANDBOOK FOR DEFEATISTS

BY HAROLD SMITH

TO UNDERSTAND properly a book such as Major de Seversky's *Victory Through Air Power*,* which claims to contain the secret of a new type of irresistible warfare, it is well to remember the words of Earl Browder at Madison Square Garden on July 2:

"We must never forget that armaments and matériel of war are not enough to win. Arms are only the instrument of policy. Without a correct policy we are defenseless though we have arms a hundredfold. The long and mounting list of catastrophes since Hitler took power in Germany are monuments to blunders and weaknesses in policy—a hundred times more than to lack of arms.

"We now hold the keys to an adequate policy to winning the war. These keys are: The American-Soviet-British Pacts and alliance—the bulwark of the United Nations and of world democracy; the London and Washington agreements to open the Second Front in Europe and to extend all-out aid to China. With the fulfillment of these historic agreements, we will have a guiding policy for victory."

The importance of this policy was reaffirmed by the Labor Day speech of President Roosevelt and the review of the war made by Premier Churchill on the same day before the House of Commons. Both leaders emphasized the need to bind together more closely the United Nations and made even clearer their conviction that victory could be won only by offensive land action against Germany on the continent of Europe.

The major aim of Axis propaganda is to prevent this policy from being carried out. The propaganda of the fascist dictatorships is designed to prevent the United States from throwing its military and industrial might in conjunction with Britain's into the prompt opening of a Western Front and to weaken or, if possible, sunder the bonds that knit the United Nations in strength.

In this the Hitlerite Axis counts desperately on its fifth column on our shores. Its pernicious propaganda moves over our land in many shapes, under many names. One of the shibboleths with which the fifth column and the defeatists have organized to gain the ear of the people of America is "Victory Through Air Power."

* *Victory Through Air Power*, by Major Alexander P. de Seversky, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1942, 354 pp., $2.50.

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Ostensibly, Seversky's book deals with the merits of air power as compared with land and sea power as a means of attaining victory. But as we read its pages it becomes glaringly manifest that *Victory Through Air Power* is a thesis of defeat—a thesis that makes that book today a bible of the defeatists.

Seversky sets forth his thesis as follows:

"For the purposes of planning we must assume that the United States has been transformed into an island surrounded by a hostile world. . . . And we must make ready for nothing less than all-out aerial war on the enemy directly from the United States. Our attacking strategy should be devised to clamp down a tridimensional blockade on the enemy—a blockade in which continuous blasting of his interior lines of communication and his economic mainstays is an integral part of the procedure." (p. 303)

Seversky's premise, accordingly, is that we have no allies, that we are surrounded by a "hostile world," from which he concludes that by the use of air power alone we can achieve victory. By this premise, Seversky shows himself at the outset as setting himself against the *indivisible* national-liberation war of the United Nations, of which our country is an integral and leading component, and on which basis the leaders and peoples of the United Nations have projected their strategy for victory.

Rather, Seversky tells us that our surest guarantee of victory is the fact that "Americans are the natural masters of the aerial weapon and therefore the destined victor in a technological contest."

Seversky would have us "regard as passing stages in a planetary conflict . . . any losses of this or that area of land or ocean." He includes in such possible losses Australia, New Zealand and the British Isles (p. 351). He contends that the conflict cannot end, so long as the United States has the air power to battle for mastery of the skies.

Seversky's flowery assurances that we need have no fear of defeat, regardless of the Axis conquests of the territories of our Allies, as long as we have mastery in the air, are cunning devices to sever us from our Allies, to undermine the unconquerable strength that derives from the alliance of the United Nations.

Hitler has always feared above all the unity of his foes. His propaganda has taken many forms, but its purpose is always the same: to divide and conquer, to isolate every nation which he has marked out for attack.

Seversky's project for weakening our country in the sphere of a fighting alliance has its logical counterpart in his project for weakening it in its own fighting capacity. All in the name of "victory through air power," he assaults the nation's war production program, the fulfillment of which, as our Commander-in-Chief has expressed in behalf of every patriotic American, is vital for victory. Seversky speaks of this program, which American labor and the people as a whole are making ever-increasing efforts and sacrifices to realize, in the following words:

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"Must we remain content to turn the crank of mass production and spew out vast amounts of backward equipment in imitation of the enemy's weapons?" (p. 348)

The victory that can come from following such counsel can be only on the side of Hitler!

Seversky, in desiring us to believe that the United States could attain self-sufficiency and victory through air power, builds for us that tragic illusion against which Browder warned, namely, that "without a correct policy we are defenseless though we have arms a hundredfold"—a warning that is strengthened a hundredfold against such suicidal counsels for dependence upon air power alone.

From Seversky's point of view the fighting alliance of the United Nations is not the first requirement for victory. He therefore treats our Allies not as full partners in this war, equally fighting this just war of national liberation, but as stopgaps to be used by America for holding back the Axis while we prepare our air fleet. He sums up their role as follows:

"Airmen, in particular, are eager to keep the Axis as busy as possible, so that its energies may be diverted in other directions while we rush the construction of the requisite long-range striking forces. One of our significant advantages at this writing is that both Japan and Germany have their hands full with relatively short-range tasks which may hamper if not postpone their concentration on aerial weapons for direct attack on the United States." (p. 345)

Seversky's project for "victory" would, to say the least, engender among the United Nations distrust of America's motives in the war. A series of flagrant omissions as well as stresses in the book patently make for such distrust. Most noticeable is the studied avoidance of any mention of the aim for which we are fighting, the attainment of the "Four Freedoms" through ridding the world forever of barbaric fascism. Instead, there is constant repetition of the idea that America is the natural master of the weapon which can dominate the world—air power. To bear out this claim for world dominance, Seversky presents a map which he entitles "Air Control of the World from the United States." Carried away by his dream of omnipotent air power, Seversky evokes the memory of Imperial Rome to describe his vision of the future America:

"The Roman Empire flourished in the era of land power. . . . Even thus our own United States . . . will flourish only on the basis of matchless air power." (p. 329)

As might be expected Seversky uses his "victory through air power" catchword to block offensive action against the Axis, and especially against the keystone of the Axis, Nazi Germany. Resorting to unctuous phrases about hardship and loss of life, he runs the whole gamut of defeatist arguments:

"Why should we match soldier for soldier against the teeming hordes of Europe and Asia when American industrial and inventive genius, translated into genuine air power, can make the short cut of

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all-out aerial assault on the enemy?" (p. 26).

An effective answer to the Severskys is contained in the leading editorial of the September issue of the *Infantry Journal,* which states:

". . . to wish for some machine-made solution to the problem of defeating ten or fifteen million hardened enemy troops is to refuse to face the job before us. To seriously consider the thought of defeating our Nazi foe chiefly by bombing is to turn away from the huge, world-spread, bloody tasks of this war toward a single remote possibility. It is to dodge the issue."

To cap the climax, when Seversky does get around finally to the realization of his "victory through air power" scheme, he assures us that "it could safely be planned for action in 1945"! (p. 341)

In the cited speech, Browder gives us an unfailing method of determining who are the internal enemies of our country. He said:

"If you want to know who are the fifth column, ask what Hitler wanted most of all to accomplish in the United States in the past two years in order to prepare to conquer us. The answer is, obviously, that Hitler wanted most of all to keep apart and hostile the two most powerful nations in the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., to prevent that fighting alliance of these two countries with England, and, after the alliance had been made, to weaken and undermine it."

Seversky does his best to weaken and undermine our vital alliance with our great Soviet ally. In the manner of the discredited Eugene Lyons, he slanders and belittles the Soviet Union. Even in his chosen field of aviation, where he cannot plead the excuse of ignorance, Seversky, à la Lindbergh, chooses to overlook the great advances of the Soviet Union. Most authoritative commentators, many of them eye-witnesses, have pointed out that the air defenses of the Soviet Union are outstanding in their effectiveness; but according to Seversky the failure of the Luftwaffe to bomb Leningrad and other cities out of existence and completely to disrupt Soviet economy was due to deliberate Nazi strategy of "pulling their punches." (p. 105)

Significant in this connection is an article from a British magazine reprinted in the *Military Review* for July, issued by the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in which the following opinion is expressed of Soviet aviation:

"It may be taken for granted that no armies could have fought so long and intensely against an enemy possessing the aerial equipment which Germany has at her command unless they themselves had an air force comparable in quantity and quality with that of their attackers."

The "expert" Seversky even fails to mention the development of such outstanding planes as the *Stormovik* which has done so much to reduce the effectiveness of the Nazi Panzers. Seversky repeats the canard of the "familiar Soviet industrial inexperience," despite the fact that the efficiency of Soviet railroad operations has made it possible for

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the Soviet Union to make the great shift of industry to the East while keeping its production levels high. He has recourse to aspersions that echo the language of the German High Command: Red troops go to their death "with a kind of fatalistic abandon." The advance of the Nazis is slow because "the job of plowing through a solid millionfold mass of humanity and acres of equipment cannot be underestimated."

The bitter anti-Sovietism of this false counselor is stuff of the tissue of his defeatism.

* * *

In view of the foregoing, it is little wonder that *Victory Through Air Power* should have received great support from the appeasers and defeatists. Under the guise of advocating offensive action (for Seversky paints a picture of American planes roaring into action in the heart of the enemy country), the fifth columnists and defeatists are able to counsel delay at a time when delay is disastrous. Pretending to be patriots, they endeavor to spread fear of the future among our Allies. Posing as indignant critics, they try to spread doubt about our whole production for victory, our win-the-war program, and our Commander-in-Chief. This book gives our Quislings and Deats the protective coloration they need; for it enables them to advocate delay and disaster while seemingly eager to "bomb the Axis."

Unfortunately, many honest people have given Seversky their serious attention. This is in part due to their impatience with the many hesitations which have marked our war effort, and of which Seversky takes demagogic advantage. It is also partly due to the tremendous appeal that aviation has for the imagination, particularly because of its great strides and the spectacular role that it plays in warfare. The chief reason, however, for the popularity of books of the Seversky type stems from the failure to fulfill promptly and energetically the solemn agreement for a Second Front. The appeasers and defeatists are using the sense of frustration which seizes so many people when they see the Red Army carrying the brunt of battle, when they see the Axis still managing to maintain the worldwide strategic initiative, to stir up speculation that there is a magic formula, "Victory Through Air Power," which will bring about an easy and complete victory.

Because of the vogue which this book has been given artificially by defeatist promoters and their dupes, it is necessary to examine the validity of Seversky's argument in itself. He states that we must build an air fleet that will be able to dominate the world by striking directly and independently from the American mainland at any territory within 6,000 miles. Such an air fleet, according to Seversky, although not as yet built or even designed, is the main hope for victory.

Seversky makes it clear that our Allies are expected to bear the brunt of the fascist attack for at least three years while we prepare our all-

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powerful air fleet. "Our task is to hold the enemy on land and sea with minimal forces, to conserve our resources and to channel our main energies and economic wealth for massing in the air for a decisive all-out offensive. . . . If the construction of this aerial striking force begins in 1942, it could be safely planned for action in 1945." (pp. 341 and 348)

It is this brazen disregard for the element of time which, if for no other reason, brands Seversky's air power arguments as absurd as they are dangerous. Strategy must be conceived in time as well as space. Nothing short of world conquest is the objective of Hitler. The Soviet Union, which stands in the way of that design, is threatened with the loss of its striking power; the United States faces the risk of being isolated for the Axis assault; the situation all over the world teeters in the balance, but still Seversky says that America must do as little fighting as possible while we prepare for an "Amazing Stories" air offensive in 1945!

If we follow such advice we face the prospect of seeing our Allies go down to defeat one by one. Hitler would then become master of such mighty productive power that he could far overmatch any force we could send against him, including our dream air fleet of 1945. If by failure to take immediate offensive action against the Axis through a Western land front we allow our Allies to be defeated, or even crippled, those very same defeatists who today prate of "victory through air power" in 1945 would immediately begin parading up and down the length of the land proclaiming that our cause was hopeless. They would accuse President Roosevelt and the win-the-war forces which have rallied around him of having lost the war and would call for a "negotiated peace" with the Nazis. Needless to say, such a "negotiated peace" would be nothing but surrender to the forces of fascism both abroad and at home. It would be a Vichy peace.

One cannot fight the battles of today with the possible weapons of tomorrow. To abandon all hope of decisive action against the Axis for a minimum of three years, indeed, not to take immediate offensive action against Hitler, is to risk losing the war. Hitler does not depend upon some magic future weapon for victory. He depends upon the continued success of his policy of fighting a one-front war.

Hitler's policy can only be successful if his disguised Quislings and fifth columnists in America and Great Britain can in one manner or another prevent or sufficiently delay these countries from taking the offensive action to which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have committed the United States and Great Britain.

A further examination of Seversky's argument about the omnipotence of air power shows that it can be broken into two distinct parts. The first part is Seversky's statement that air power can be developed into a force which through increased range, fire power and bomb capacity can by itself defeat the enemy. The second part is

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that air power would be better used if America had an independent air force of equal rank with the older services; and that bureaucracy, lack of vision and the operation of the profit motive have hampered the development of air power to date.

These are two separate arguments; but Seversky uses what is true in the second argument to support the spuriousness of the first. One can accept what is valid in the second argument without agreeing that we should therefore abandon our present-day policy of building a balanced military force and that we should hold back from immediate launching of the Second Front.

There is much in the experiences of the present war to prove that air power is a vital factor and that much attention must be paid to its greater development, utilization and coordination with the other services.

There is nothing in our present experience to indicate that air power alone can supersede and replace the coordinated land, sea and air teams which are now ready for use.

The 1,000-plane raids on Germany not only are not beating Germany into defeat but by themselves have not succeeded in diverting the Nazi military power from other fronts. All-out air attacks have been unsuccessful against Chunking, London, Leningrad and Moscow. Germany flung 1,500 planes a day again Sevastopol, with Soviet air resistance limited by force of circumstances to only a few and ever-diminishing number of planes; but the city fell only under the numerically superior might of the Nazi combat teams. At Stalingrad, in the greatest battle in world history, the Germans are estimated to have at least 2,000 planes in action, a force which gives them undoubted air superiority, but these planes by themselves cannot win the battle. Any advance which Von Bock succeeds in making is made only by the extravagant use of all the forces, particularly armored and infantry, which he has in great numerical superiority at his disposal.

After one year of war against the Nazis the opinion of the well-qualified Soviet military leaders on the role of air power was summed up by Lieut. Col. Denisov of the Red Air Force in a special dispatch which appeared in the August issue of the American magazine, *Aviation:*

"Disregarding the fantasies of supernatural aircraft, we will continue to build modern machines of high maneuverability and striking power. Our pilots, steeled and trained in actual fighting, will continue their work of driving home attacks on the enemy. Our infantry, artillery and tanks shall not lack adequate air support. Together with these arms our joint effort will ultimately bring victory."

Indeed, nowhere has air power unaided proved decisive. Even in the case of Crete, which is held up as an example of air action *par excellence,* and as a prototype of the air war of the future, the island was not won by the all-out precision bombing which Seversky considers the unbeatable weapon of the plane but rather by foot troops which were carried to their destination by air. Seversky argues that Crete could

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just as well have been bombed into submission, but if this is so it is strange that unconquered Malta still harasses the Axis' Mediterranean lines.

As a concluding refutation of Seversky's defeatist contentions, we offer a quotation from a forthcoming book by R. Palme Dutt, a chapter of which appeared in *The Communist* for September:

"But Hitler can only be finally defeated, not by blockade alone, not by air bombing alone, but on land by the destruction of his armies, by the action of the Allied armies in collaboration with the European peoples, and finally with the German people. The logical conclusion of this strategic line, the necessity of the Second Front on the continent of Europe, not at some remote future date, but in the period now opening, when the maximum forces are being thrown into the field on both sides in Eastern Europe, requires now to be accepted as the basis of strategy."

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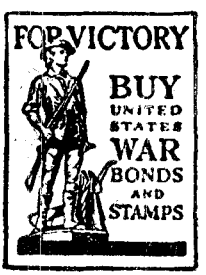

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